A. T. ARIYARATNE
COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME II

EDITED BY
NANDASENA RATNAPALA

A Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Publication

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Nandasena Ratnapala

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VISHVA LEKHA
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A. T. Ariyaratne

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PREFACE

I am happy that there was an unexpectedly positive response to our first volume of Mr. A.T. Ariyaratne's Collected Works. The enthusiasm shown by readers all over the world stimulated me to bring out this Second Volume. I am thankful to Mr. Ariyaratne who made these essays available to me and who in no manner interfered in my selection or in my critical appraisal of the Sarvodaya Movement.

In this Second Volume Mr. Ariyaratne's essays on Rural Development have been collected from various sources. The Sarvodaya Movement initiated by Ariyaratne started with an initial experiment carried out in a remote village in Sri Lanka and ever since the experimental character of the Movement has remained intact. The Philosophy of the Movement and its Strategy are born out of experiment and experience. Even today Ariyaratne is still experimenting, ever amenable to change, profiting from his mistakes and those of others. This eclectic character is its forte and I am sure in the decades to come this character will remain, making it possible for Sarvodaya to adjust its strategy to meet fresh problems and evolve suitable solutions. His ideas, whether we agree with him or not, are indeed fresh, exciting, stimulating and worthy of serious study.

I am sure those of you who have read the First Volume would eagerly look forward to this collection. In these essays you will come across the philosophy and strategy fashioned out of experience by one of the most charismatic figures, a practical and an incisive mind we have in Asia today. Perhaps by reading Ariyaratne's unique experiences we may open up new vistas of knowledge and experience that were not hitherto available to us. To those involved and interested in rural development, the essays provide formidable challenges. The impact of such challenges would remain with us for ever and I think that is the most important feature in Ariyaratne's simple philosophy.

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Hony. Director

INTRODUCTION

The Sarvodaya Movement came into being as a result of an experiment carried out by a group of pioneers in a remote under-privileged village in Sri Lanka. From its inception in 1958 to this day the people's character of the Movement has been distinctly retained. Working for the Common Man's benefit, securing the Common Man's participation to its maximum possible level in the developmental exercise had been Sarvodaya's aim.

Sarvodaya's identification of the Common Man as 'one who is at the receiving end of grand plans from bureaucrats and policy makers, sermons from moralisers and, goods and services from a market economy' made it a Movement dedicated to the resurgence of human values. It not only identified common man correctly but also evolved strategies fashioned on age-old Socio-Cultural practices to secure the participation of the Common Man in Sarvodaya's development programmes. These strategies perfected after two decades of intense experimentation provided Sarvodaya with the correct tools to implement its Community Development philosophy at the village level.

One of the remarkable finds in Sarvodaya Rural Development Strategy is the discovery of an intelligible language to open up the development dialogue with the people. The planners who came from above whether with the seal of authority and power of the Central Government in their hands or of other accredited representatives from International and National Organisations never understood what the rural people meant by the term 'Development'. The Planners had their own definitions which the Common Villager did not understand. The language of the rustic villagers, on the other hand, was not understood by the planners and administrators. In the words of Ariyaratne 'a serious attempt to discover an intelligible language common to both was never made'.

Liberation of the Common man became the Sarvodaya objective. This liberation was spelled out in (1) the liberation of the personality and then (2) of the group or Community to which one belongs. The liberation concept was inherent in the activities of the early pioneers who went to the historic village of Kanatholuwa in 1958. * These pioneers wanted to liberate the under-privileged Rodiyas both from the social and economic bondage by which they were tied down for centuries. In order to achieve this liberation each individual in that Community should realize that he is a human being possessed of the same physical characteristics and psychological inheritance common to all men. Thereafter the entire community should realize their own potential, share their experience with each other helping others to help themselves. Liberation in its fullest and widest sense meant such freedom.

Sarvodaya's first step in developing a village thus rests in making the villagers realize the reality of the village situation. They should be made to understand, each one individually and then as a group, the central problems of the village. Understanding the reality of the village in Sarvodaya parlance means the ability to take stock of the material and non-material resources of the village, the extent of their utilization and the realization of the potentiality of such resources. Without such a realization, that is without understanding the first basic truth of Sarvodaya that explains the cause of the present economic, social and cultural poverty or stagnation of the village, no development effort is ever possible.

It is not easy to make people realize this basic truth. On the other hand without a proper realization of that truth, it is well-nigh impossible to make them evolve plans and programmes of development or carry-out such plans into effective action. Nor could people realize what exploitation is without understanding the reality of the village situation. During the last fifty years the radical left as well as the traditional left parties have been carrying on intensive propaganda in villages pin-pointing exploitation on the economic level. The language that these people spoke was not understood by the villagers although the

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* *Nandasena Ratnapala, Sarvodaya and the Rodiyas: The Birth of Sarvodaya. Colombo 1979. (S.R.I. Publication)*

exploitation that they defined was nothing new to them. What the villagers lacked was the realization of how that exploitation affects them i.e. not exactly what they have lost in general terms but the extent of this loss in meaningful statistical terms. In other words to point to the fact that the villagers are being exploited by a rich merchant is meaningless because they know it already. May be that the merchant has secured the mortgages of their land in return for the produce which they are bound to give to him at the time of harvest. In such a context the term exploitation attached to the rich merchant may very well become a meaningless term to them. But if we attempt to translate the entire process into the language of the people while making them realize that there is a way out of this exploitative process that comes to fruition through their own effort, the entire process becomes meaningful and relevant.

Take the case of a Sarvodaya village where the farmers were in the majority. These farmers were poor and almost every one of them had mortgaged their land to the rich merchant who lived in the nearby town. They cultivated the land from the money secured from the mortgage and in return handed over the fruits of the harvest to the merchant. The process had been going on for a long time so that for the villagers it was nothing new or unusual. The term exploitation used to denote the role of the rich merchant failed to create a favourable echo in the minds of the people.

But when the people were motivated to come together in small groups discussing alternative ways and means of how they could raise the capital necessary to carry on their cultivation without going to the rich merchant they gradually began to understand that even in a small way an alternative could be found. Little savings when encouraged in the group enabled them to utilize credit facilities made available to the rural villages. Through constant discussions in small groups they began to realize that instead of mortgaging their land they could themselves initiate action to secure the necessary capital. The real nature of exploitation came as a realization when alternative ways and means to raise the capital necessary to cultivate the paddy fields became apparent With each practical step they look to realize this alternative, they came to understand the exploitation carried on by the rich merchant.

With the realization of this alternative through practical action and practical terms they came to perceive the reality of the village situation.

Another example of how this realization of the village situation dawned on the people via practical action could be explained in the following manner. In a village it was found that the people's staple diet consisted of rice and a curry without any leafy vegetables. Ariyaratne happened to visit this village which was earlier surveyed and where such surveys showed that the people were grossly under-nourished. Ariyaratne by living in the village found that the main cause for the under-nourishment was the lack of green vegetables in their diet. Having understood it he got them to prepare rice and included lot of leaf vegetables or curries, in the meal. He gradually ate it with the villagers without openly showing or indicating that it was a part of a prepared plan. The first few days he invited two or three families, next a few more men and women, and as all of them got involved in shramadanas all of them began to partake of leafy vegetables with meals. The process was continued for months and this experience gradually changed the dietary pattern of the people. Green vegetables became part of their diet and some time afterwards when nutrition surveys were made, under-nourishment which was prevalent earlier was considerably reduced. By the correct understanding of the village situation and by the introduction of a series of actions in a practical and meaningful way Ariyaratne was able to solve a challenging problem.

Sarvodaya's understanding of the village in its totality marks its approach to rural development which is different from the approach of the Government or even other developmental agencies. The problems of the village are tackled by Sarvodaya in their economic, social, cultural and religious dimensions. This integrated approach to rural problems is a unique legacy that Sarvodaya has inherited from its own experiences. The integration of activities in different fields at the village level is not the strategy of Sarvodaya. On the contrary while accepting that different activities at the village level should be integrated, Sarvodaya underscores the importance of approaching village problems with an integrated dimensional approach. The economic problem for example cannot be isolated from social

and cultural problems. Educational problems when tackled need to be viewed from social, political, economic or cultural dimensions.

This approach of Sarvodaya leaves room for many a critic to criticise Sarvodaya's activities in regard to those which do not contribute to the quick economic development of the village. In a village once the Government started a farm where animals were reared for food. Pigs were reared and killed in the farm. As the village youths who were taken to the farm had to kill pigs the villagers did not like their children to join the farm. The few youths who came there,when they left the farm, found 'pig breeding' could not be done in their home areas. Although the Government depending on a feasibility report thought that the farm would help the unemployed youth to free themselves economically by becoming 'pig-breeders' the hope of the Government did not materialize. The capital spent on the farm went astray due to the inability of the Government to take into consideration the social or cultural dimensions of the village.

The strategies of Sarvodaya as mentioned earlier are born out of hard experience. Herein lies the strength of Sarvodaya's developmental strategy. The hard experiences have their roots in Sri Lankan Culture and Society. Strategies picked up from elsewhere and imported have very often failed to bring out the desired results because when they were transplanted here, they lacked the social and cultural soil necessary for their successful growth in Sri Lanka. Sarvodaya's strategies had their roots here and the soil was not alien to their fertile growth. Take the concept shramadana or the gift of one's labour and intellectual energy to the welfare of all. This was a socio-cultural practice of the ancient and medieval Sinhalese which had its root in their rural agricultural life.

Ariyaratne borrowed this concept from tradition, gave it a wider meaning in practice and made it the main tool in Sarvodaya's development strategy,. He goes on to say that 'the Shramadana Concept was introduced to this country by the Sarvodaya Shramadana Workers of Sri Lanka with the objective of removing social and economic injustice, ensuring increased economic growth, freeing society from all forms of exploitation of man by man, establishing an equitable distribution system of

goods and services, liberating the human being so that he may be able to participate in decision-making as a person, as a subject, to such a development process in which he is the master and not the slave.'

Shramadana for Sarvodaya is not a means of providing cheap labour as it has now turned out to be in the hands of certain Governmental and Voluntary Agencies. Sarvodaya considers such an equation of Shramadana with cheap labour as a form of mental and physical degradation . Unless Shramadana involves concerted, deliberate and purposeful individual and community action directed to transform society it has no value at all from Sarvodaya's point of view.

Sarvodaya takes pride in equating its definition of development with that provided by the rural people. It involves primarily the activization of human and national resources of a country for increased production of goods and services which finally leads to satisfaction of the basic needs of all. In other words it should not be confined only to the production of goods and services primarily for the benefit of a selected few or only in the increased material benefits to the society. It should emphasise the spiritual, cultural and ethical components leading to the total liberation of man.

People's power or Jana Shakthi is Sarvodaya's ultimate aim.Sarvodaya views political and economic power today as entrenched in the hands of a selected elite. Theoretically however democratic a Government is, if economic, political and social power are not always with the people, the democratic ideal fails to function. Democracy is functional in a Community where decision-making power rests in small communities and where all power comes from 'bottom -up',. Observing the absence of such a people's power in modern society, Ariyaratne states that 'in planning and implementation of development, people have been left out as distant onlookers. If we are to get into the business of rural development seriously there is no gainsaying the fact that we have to involve the very people for whom development programmes are directed.'

In involving the people Sarvodaya emphasises that all people, whatever their age or sex is and irrespective of their social or economic positions, should be involved fully in such

developmental exercise. The pride of place should however be given to youth. Sarvodaya philosophy believes that the youth should be geared to revolution. This revolution is expected to overhaul the existing social and economic order. The revolution is essentially a non-violent one. The first principle in this revolution is the recognition of this equality of man disregarding all differences in colour, creed, race or caste. As Sarvodaya values every life, whether it is organic or inorganic, emphasising the value of human life above all, the loss of human life or injuring human life is always regarded as something inconsistent with Sarvodaya Philosophy.

The future of the world, Sarvodaya asserts rests with its young people. That is why Sarvodaya is totally dedicated to the cause of the youth both here and elsewhere. The restive youth of the world are replete with visions of a New World Order that could only be won over by the utilization of guns and bombs. The injustices perpetrated by the present system with its vicious economic, social and political systems had inspired the youth to resort to violence as the only foreseeable and effective means to redress such injustices. While recognising the existence of such social, political and economic injustices Sarvodaya dedicated itself to the total annihilation of such injustices and exploitation by non-violent means, that is by organising people to realize the potentiality inherent in their united power or Jana Shakti.

For some non-violence has lost its significance as a strategy that could be used to change or transform society. They do not see the manner in which it was used as an effective weapon against Colonial Masters by Mahatma Gandhi and how non-violence is still utilized by freedom fighters and fighters against social, political and economic injustices all over the world. Those who assert that the only strategy available to us today is the use of weapons forget the fact that as an alternative to violence resulting in the loss of valuable human lives there is Sarvodaya's non-violent strategy. Sarvodaya believes that violence begets violence and it is only in revolutionary non-violence that man can place his faith and confidence as a strategy capable of transforming human beings and the world in which he lives.

The organisation of human beings in every sphere in small

groups is Sarvodaya's strategy to generate Jana Shakti or people's power. These groups meet often, discuss together and strive to arrive at decisions together. The unity of the group is fostered by such strategies as Shramadanas and family gatherings. The decision-making power rests with the group and so does the power of carrying out such decisions into effective action. These groups share the joy of working together and living together. They organise themselves to fight against ignorance, disease and hunger. Each group is thus organised and highly active ensuring people's direct participation and when they join together helps to build a people's power that could act as a countervailing power to any existing political, social or economic system that seeks to exploit man.

Small communities teaching themselves to help each other to help themselves create a discipline that inspires them to initiate their own decision-making process and also the ability to carry out such decisions into effective action. Such a process as often believed by some is not directed towards providing the greatest good for the greatest number. It is directed to the welfare of all and to the creation of a society that strives for the attainment of the greatest good for every one of its members. "The complete awakening of every single individual in society in body, mind,intellect and in spirit to his maximum potentiality is Sarvodaya's aim.'

Some equate Sarvodaya with an organisation basically directed to the provision of social welfare. Although social welfare activities are included in Sarvodaya Programmes, Sarvodaya's objectives are not primarily associated only with welfare activities. It is true that when human beings undergo suffering Sarvodaya attempt to alleviate such suffering. When a man is hungry, he obviously needs food immediately; when he is sick, medicament is necessary. Sarvodaya recognises these basic needs that have to be satisfied before man could be helped to stand on his own feet and taught to grapple with his gigantic problems by himself.

Basic needs, their identification and satisfaction is part of Sarvodaya's overall programme. But Sarvodaya while attempting to satisfy such immediate needs also strives to make man realize why such hunger, why such illness or why such

ignorance persists. When a contagious disease spreads in the village Sarvodaya goes there bringing medicament and providing relief immediately. Then once the disease is contained, Sarvodaya attempts to make people realize the cause of such an illness. When cyclones devastated the country recently Sarvodaya was there with relief for the afflicted. Thereafter when the immediate danger is appreciably contained, the process of self-help begins. Education comes in, both formal and informal, enabling people to dispel their ignorance, and understand the causes of the illnesses in order to control them better in the future. Shramadana joins people, each one helping the other to re-build their devastated houses, to cultivate their fields, and eventually helping them to share with each other all what they have, both material and non- material resources.

Sarvodaya , as Ariyaratne succinctly states, is 'Not a religion even though the best in all religious teachings, as found applicable to the above mentioned social goals, are imbibed in Sarvodaya thought. On the other hand it is not a materialistic dogma where all spiritual tenets are ruled out for the sake of achieving material goods. It is a harmonious integration of spiritual teachings and modern science where man and society are viewed from a nobler perspective and with confidence'. Sarvodaya's approach to life and living is eclectic, continuously enriched by the fund of newly acquired knowledge, growing with changing times.

Ariyaratne states that Sarvodaya is dedicated to changing society from below, that is from the grass roots. The village society where the majority of human beings live today is the primary object of this radical change. This change or revolutionary transformation can be brought about when people are mobilised to satisfy their basic needs through their own efforts. Self-education is a basic tenet in Sarvodaya's philosophy and the full awakening of man starts with his education of himself. This education involves the understanding of man's relationship with other human beings, man and animals, and those between man and all inanimate things. The harmonious relationship between man and his ecology is always and at all times emphasised by Sarvodaya. The art of right

living consists of the correct understanding of this relationship between man and society and finally between man and his environment.

What is Sarvodaya's economic theory? Ariyaratne is being criticised for the lack of a sound economic theory of his own. The Sarvodaya Movement is further being criticised for covertly protecting the existing order and conveniently avoiding conflict wherever possible and always siding with the stronger against the weak. In the case of economic exploitation, Sarvodaya pays only lip service to the cause of the exploited while toeing the line of the exploiter often covertly approving his course of conduct.

It is interesting to examine the above criticism in the light of Sarvodaya's experiences within the last two decades. From the day of its inception Sarvodaya activities were confined to the villages where poor and underprivileged communities lived. At the outset they were Rodiya villages and then other poor villages, often inhabited by underprivileged castes or communities. Even today more than two-third of Sarvodaya villages or sometimes even more are poverty-stricken localities where people of underprivileged classes or castes or communities live.

When Sarvodaya is introduced into a village it is usual to initiate activities with the poorest of the poor living there. 'When you go to a village or when you desire to work in your own village select the poorest first. Start work with them and next go to the others moving gradually upwards.' Ariyaratne's cardinal principle of working with the poorest of the poor and with lowest of the lowest is still being proudly maintained by Sarvodaya workers.

The charge that Sarvodaya strives covertly to maintain the status quo avoiding conflict and seeking refuge in religious belief is belied by Sarvodaya's own experience. The people of the village known as Atulugamkanda, when they needed a road, came into conflict with a rich man living in the village. The rich man who was also in the village was not agreeable to allow the road to be constructed through his land. The villagers got together and started the construction of the road. The rich man came there with a gun in his hand threatening them and also

called the police to help him. When the Police came there the villagers who were united explained to the Police their objectives. The road was necessary for the village and the villagers were united in constructing it. When the Police understood the motives of the people and saw how united they were, they warned the rich man that his objections were not tenable. Finally the rich man gave in, obviously as a concession to the mounting people's pressure or Jana Shakti.

Conflict is never avoided by Sarvodaya. Nor does Sarvodaya adopt a naive attitude towards social or economic conflict giving its current assent to the status quo. Even in 1958 when Sarvodaya pioneers moved to Kanatholuwa they were in the throes of a deep social and economic conflict. The Rodiyas who lived in these Sarvodaya villages were treated as outcasts, not allowed to wear clothes to cover the upper parts their body or live in houses of their choice or follow vocations they preferred. In going to these villages Sarvodaya hit at the root of the nefarious caste- system. They lived with the Rodiyas, ate the food, sharing it with them and occupying their quarters. Instead of begging to which the Rodiyas were accustomed for centuries they introduced other skills through which the Rodiyas could earn their living. This was indeed a social revolution and ever since then this revolutionary attitude had been Sarvodaya's hallmark.

The correctness of Sarvodaya's attitudes to conflict is borne out on a number of occasions from recent history. When in 1971 the famous Insurrection of Youth involving the loss of thousands of lives took place the youth associated with Sarvodaya were not associated with it. It i remarkable to notice that in none of the villages where Sarvodaya activities were current, was any sort of insurgent activities observed.The Insurgents were fighting for an equitable and justifiable social order with bombs and guns and Sarvodaya is also fighting to achieve the same goal but with different means. It is because of this identity in objectives that soon after the Insurgency vast numbers of youth joined the Sarvodaya Movement realizing that the change in society by violent means inevitably leads to endless destruction. Society has to be changed by a transformation in individual men and as individual beings

change reciprocal change in the society should take place.

Sarvodaya is dedicated to fight conflict always and not to avoid them. When some of the Indian Tamils were repatriated to India after the mutual agreement between India and Sri Lanka, it was Sarvodaya that came to help the repatriates to smoothen their task of uprooting themselves from a soil into which they were born or tied to and move into another country. If not for Sarvodaya's dedicated work the lot of many a repatriate from Sri Lanka would have been one of endless suffering. When the communal riots broke up recently in 1977 Sarvodaya moved in attempting to quench the racial flame and extending its benevolent hand to those in need. Once the immediate basic needs of the unfortunate ones were satisfied Sarvodaya undertook the task of helping them to rehabilitate themselves. In all such social conflicts, Sarvodaya, with its basic belief in the equality of all human beings irrespective of the caste or creed to which one belongs, always played a constructive role which is now recorded in history.

Sarvodaya it must be mentioned, does not go to create unnecessary conflict or conflict that ends in violence. Once conflict begets violence, Sarvodaya knows that all foreseeable avenues of resolving it are lost for ever. As human life is sacred to Sarvodaya and injuring human life even by a thought is not Sarvodaya's way, as Sarvodaya has an alternative to resolve conflict in non-violent revolution, it always attempts to meet conflicts with this meaningful strategy.

Sarvodaya's entire philosophy is aimed at the revolutionary overhauling of society and as such there is no question of Sarvodaya striving to maintain the status quo in society. It is often said that the Sarvodaya revolution is a benevolent one i.e Sarvodaya attempts to win over powerful economic, social or political forces to ally themselves with the Movement rather than identify their exploitative nature and work against them by mobilising people. In a village one finds a few rich men associating themselves with Sarvodaya contributing money to Sarvodaya activities while at the same time engaged in exploiting people. Such examples are often quoted to label Sarvodaya as an Organisation devoted to the maintenance of the status quo by siding with the establishment.

Such criticism arises due to the inability or the refusal of the critics to understand Sarvodaya's basic philosophy. It may be so that in a given village certain powerful political or economic figures do exist. Such figures may also associate themselves with Sarvodaya. Their association does not mean that Sarvodaya is concurring with them or sharing their attitudes of exploitation. In the first place what Sarvodaya emphasises is the deed and not the doer. The rich man who exploits the people may have some good qualities. In his association with Sarvodaya it is hoped that these qualities would gradually develop leading to the doing of more and more good deeds finally contributing to a personality awakening in the individual himself which enables him to realize the extent of his own exploitation of others. At the same time the rich man's relationship with the other villagers may be such that even if one explains his policy of exploitation, the other villagers may not realize it. Until and unless the others realize the nature of this exploitation paying lip services to the freedom that the villagers could earn by putting an end to such an exploitative process is not at all practical. When people realize the nature of such exploitation, they reawaken their personalities and thereby in the concerted and united action that emanates from the realization, the people' power or Jana Shakti is born.

Exploitation, whether indulged in by individuals, groups, societies, organisations or governments, has to be realized by the people in practical terms before an attempt is made to end such exploitative processes. However much one may persuade others through speeches, harangues, pamphlets etc. the nature of the exploitation for ever eludes the people until such a realization should gradually take place. The language of the political platform orator, the party man, the preacher, the educationist thus eludes the grasp of the people. The Language of the people finds its expression in practical work. Sarvodaya attempts to make people understand the nature of exploitation by making them share a series of activities through which the exploitative process becomes a reality to them and through which the path to end such a process becomes discernible.

Economic activity according to Sarvodaya means (1) Production (2) Protection (3) Social environment in which

production takes place and (4) Balanced consumption. Economic development therefore means the development of all these four aspects. Production means the creation of material and non-material goods to ensure a good life to all. Such goods have to be protected to assure an equitable distribution and to be used in times of scarcity. Not only goods but the environment where they are produced and protected is important to Sarvodaya. Production of goods in a way detrimental to the physical or spiritual well-being of the people is thus defined. Consumption should aim not at excessive consumption leading to luxurious life for a few and deprivation for the majority. The basic needs of man have to be met such as consumption and when these basic needs are satisfied for all no excessive and meaningless consumption could take place.

What are the people's basic needs? The fundamental Buddhist teaching asserts the four basic needs of man: clothing, food, medicament and shelter. Based on these Sarvodaya has identified ten such needs*. Economic activity at all levels in a Sarvodaya society is geared to the satisfaction of these basic needs. Man should learn to control his insatiable desire to multiply his needs creating more and more goods to satisfy these endless needs. The resources of the human world are for all living beings and not for a selected few who are powerful enough to own and enjoy them.

Economic theory based on experience alien to us cannot help us to solve our problems. Ariyaratne's contention is that, however valid such theories are to those countries in which they originated, in the peculiar context of a third world country where the experiences for centuries are different, this theory even if it is applied assiduously, cannot help us to understand our problems successfully. As an example he cites the theory of surplus labour and drawing from the socio-economic activities of the past constructs a theory of surplus merit. He says that in the past the men and women who lived in our society engaged in a certain economic action not only for the individual material gain they derived from it. There were other material and non-

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* *See A.T. Ariyaratne. Ten Basic Needs And Their Satisfaction for a detariled account of these needs.*

material gains achieved by engaging in an economic act. Take, for example, the construction of a religious edifice such as a Dagoba or a huge tank. The men and women who helped in such construction were requested by the Kings to ask for material gains often in the form of money (gold, silver or copper coins) equivalent to what they considered sufficient for their physical labour. The ancient records evidently point out that the majority of the people in this context drew money lower than the proportion of labour they contributed. It is because of the belief that such a sacrifice resulted in the accumulation of merit for them. Such merit would enable them to be happy in this world and the next.

The code of ethics which was ingrained in our people was not imposed from above by Kings who desired to 'plunder' the 'surplus labour' of the masses for their own good. On the contrary the labour thus sacrificed enabled them to construct vast reservoirs of water which helped the people in the cultivation of paddy that fed the entire country. On the labour thus donated helped in building beautiful pieces of architecture, sculpture or painting which became the cultural inheritance of the people. The Theory of Surplus Merit was thus conceived as the fundamental economic theory of the Sri Lankan society. It was not promulgated to exploit people and make the elite groups rich and powerful. The theory when put into practice not only contributed its share to the well-being of all those who lived in that particular era but also of those who will be born in the future.

Politically Sarvodaya commits itself to a peoples' democracy where people matter. The decision-making and implementation power should rest with the people. The ideal is of assortment of small village republics each one ruling itself. At a practical level it means the creation of small groups in a society which when united could act as a countervailing power to any government elected by the people. The people's power or Jana Shakti when organised gives expression to the people's will which Sarvodaya believes should hold supreme authority.

What could Sarvodaya's remarkable experience in this country give to the human beings living in other countries specially those of the Western World? Ariyaratne honestly admits that he is unable to formulate precisely how Sarvodaya

experience could be of help to others. "It is thus even more difficult to project this experience into the future and formulate hypotheses, such as how, for example, the basic tenets of Sarvodaya would stand up to the test of a fast industrializing world where even the literal meaning of words that denote spiritual and cultural experiences have become un-intelligible to most people or how the Movement can bridge an ever- widening psychological and intellectual gap between a minority of post-industrial communities and a vast majority of more or less below subsistence level communities in our world.'

Undoubtedly the majority of the third world countries could benefit much from Sarvodaya's philosophy and strategy. Although the political, economical or social conditions may be different from one country to another the way and the manner Sarvodaya has activated the process of development from down below involving the maximum participation of the people in the decision-making structure could inspire similar lines of approach among the rural or urban communities of these countries. The Sarvodaya philosophy of self-reliance expressed in simple working terms could be perhaps emulated to formulate a parallel philosophy able to motivate the people. The manner in which Sarvodaya has imbibed meaningful features from the past tradition may unfold a path by which such inspiration could be obtained from the past traditions of those countries. The way Sarvodaya has defined development in the language of the people is another example worthy of following.

Is there an alternative to our problems specially those faced by the youth of today and perhaps the problems that the youth of tomorrow have to face? In violence today's youth have found their answer to injustices, inequalities and exploitation. The gun and the bomb is their repeated and only answer to create and usher in the utopian revolution they dream. Utopia achieved by guns and bombs is not worth achieving, says Sarvodaya. You die, so that a new world may be born. But is there an assurance that your death or anyone else's death would usher in such a new social or economic order sans exploitation? Revolution therefore should be capable of not destroying human life but sustaining it. Revolution should re-create man and recreate a new equitable social and economic order. Revolution

bereft of violence is the only alternative to the revolution ushered with the gun and the bomb. New world means the birth of a new man, non-violent revolution transforms man and transforms the world.

Finally let me conclude this Introduction with an apt quotation from Ariyaratne himself.

'We are none of us still. Daily we are swept on by the stream of life. Unfortunate perhaps, we are undergoing a process of development, we are being moulded by our environment. Through Sarvodaya we are made conscious of this process and encouraged to play our part in it. We are 'awakened' to the implication of our potential. But Sarvodaya does not only seek to awaken individuals, it aims to awaken the family, the village, the town and finally the nations that crowd this globe of ours'.

Nandasena Ratnapala

SOURCES OF THE ARTICLES AND SPEECHES PUBLISHED IN THIS VOLUME

1. *The Common Man's Approach to Self-development*
   Paper read at the Society for International Development, National Conference on 'Development Strategies for Sri Lanka'. 1978 August - Colombo
2. *Role of Shramadana in Rural Development*
   From a talk delivered at Agrarian Research and Training Institute - Colombo 1972
3. *Camping for Sharing and the Making of a New Human Being*
   From a talk delivered at the Asian Pacific International Seminar of the Girl Guides Movement - Colombo, October 1974
4. *Role of Voluntary Organisations in Development: The Sri Lankan Case*
   Part of a talk delivered at the South West Asian Youth Conference held in Bangalore, Sept. 1968
5. *Appropriate Technology in the Sri Lankan Situation*
   A free rendering from a Talk delivered at the TOOL Congress on Appropriate Technology - February 1976, University of Nijmegen, Netherlands
6. *Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement: Towards a Global Perspective from a Rural Experience*
   Talk delivered at the International Conference on Sarvodaya and World Development held at Damsak Mandira, Moratuwa, Sri Lanka - April 1978
7. *The Country's Crying Need*
   A contribution made to A Symposium on Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka-Swabasha Prakasakayo Ltd. Printers - Colombo 1959
8. *Integrating National Development with the Rural Sector* Rendering from a speech delivered at the Society for International Development held in Colombo on 11.8.1979
9. *Role of Trade Unions in Promoting Rural Development*
   Talk delivered in Tokyo, Nov. 1979, at the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession, Seventh Regional Conference
10. *Popular Participation in Municipal Activities*
    Talk delivered to the newly elected Mayors and Members of Municipal Councils on 31.5.1979 at Sri Lanka Foundation Institute, Colombo.

THE COMMON MAN'S APPROACH TO SELF-DEVELOPMENT

'All development efforts brought from above either through Government effort or through other agencies have failed miserably because the Common Man did not need them and did not understand them. These plans and programmes were never intended by the Common Man or initiated by him. They seep down from above, from one bureaucratic layer to another, from one elite group to another, hardly reaching the Common Man at the village level'

INTRODUCTION

I am thankful to the Society for International Development for inviting me to present a paper to its national conference on 'Development Strategies for Sri Lanka'. I also appreciate it very much that I am permitted to deal with with an unusual subject 'The Common Man's Approach to Self-development'.

This subject has a special significance for me personally after an experience I had recently at a similar conference. I tried to put across a common man's point of view on the subject to Transfer of Technology and the immediate reaction to my speech from a Sri Lankan 'intellectual' was that my presentation lacked intellectual excellence. This he said in spite of a prior warning I gave to my listeners that I was only a rustic villager who was thinking aloud on the subject on which I was asked to speak and whose words would reflect actual experiences and not intellectual theories.

My comments today will also reflect such experiences. First of all, I will describe who the common man is. Then I will discuss the nature of inter-actions between elite and commoners. Ten basic human needs identified by the village people themselves will be listed followed by a discussion of institutional versus people's planning. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement will be described, Sarvodaya principles will be outlined, and a brief historical context of the Movement will be presented. Finally, a

description of various phases of the Sarvodaya action process will be given.

Who is the common man?

Common people are those who are at the receiving end of grand plans from bureaucrats and policy makers, sermons from moralizers, and goods and services from a market economy. They have no control at all over the ideas, technologies, strategies, and structures that are imposed upon them from outside. To make things worse they are also made morally and legally accountable to themselves for whatever is imposed upon them through a representative democracy which in itself has become a mechanical process mostly devoid of human values.

Common people prefer personal relationships, intimate shared experiences, direct cultural and spiritual life, household and small economic arrangements and participatory democracy and community politics. They are guided more by intuitive understanding than by organized and systematized knowledge.

Development as practised in post-independent Sri Lankan society appears to be an elitist exercise which pushed common people to an increasing state of dependency and non-participation in decision- making processes which affect their lives.

Interactions between Elites and Commoners

An increasing disparity between the intuitive understanding of common people as to what development was about and the organized knowledge and pre-determined expectations of the privileged in society pertaining to development was evident. The social cost that the Sri Lankan Society had to pay in terms of political and communal violence, moral degeneration, economic stagnation and increased poverty was very heavy. A serious attempt to discover an intelligible language common to both was never made. Further delay will only result in disastrous consequences for the whole society.

It is the privileged, the so-called intellectuals or the elite, who should take the initiative to reach the common man, not to control him but to liberate him , not to manipulate him but to make him participate as an equal, in defining goals, setting targets and

implementing plans, But this initiative cannot be taken without a realization that the Western model of development will not take us anywhere. Common people do not see this happening.

The super-structures that have grown to control and regulate people's lives have become so complex that even those who temporarily believe that they control them are powerless to control or change them. It is a self-perpetrating vicious system in which they are caught. The most sensible thing they can do is not to hold on to them and be crushed by their weight in the course of time but to release their hold on them and encourage people's movements to grow from the grass-roots up.

Development as understood by the common man is an integrated process of total change that is taking place within individuals, families, groups, rural and urban communities, nations and the world bringing about socio-economic and spiritual-cultural progress in one and all. For common people development has not only a quantitative meaning but a qualitative meaning as well. Our ancients called it the Dhanyagara-Dharmadweepa ideal-the ideal of a land of economic prosperity and social righteousness.

Based on this concept common people have built around their lives certain symbols, customs, beliefs and superstitions, human feelings, simple household economies, informal social and economic formations and a whole range of religious practices.

In spite of powerful hierarchical establishments that control their political, economic and religious lives common people have retained the above mentioned characteristics in their cultures. These should not be looked down upon as impediments to progress. Instead, they could be used as supportive factors for development work if understood in their proper context.

Basic Human Needs

In case of the common man development as related to him is directly concerned with the satisfaction of his basic human needs. Some time ago, with the participation of 660 village people, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement identified ten basic human needs. These were:

1. A clean and beautiful environment
2. A clean and an adequate supply of water
3. Minimum requirements of clothing
4. A balanced diet
5. A simple house to live in
6. Basic health care
7. Simple communication facilities
8. Minimum energy requirements
9. Total education, and
10. Cultural and spiritual needs.

These village people went on to sub-divide each of these into sub-needs thus making a list of 167 items. They went on to devise a group approach to fulfil these basic human needs with suggestions to build up the organizational strength of the village and the basic social and physical infrastructure.*

This is an example of the common man's approach to self development.

Institutional Vs. People's Planning

The general tendency in institutional planning is to make people more and more dependent on impersonal and distant institutions. They feel more and more alienated from centres of decision making and meaningful action. Their creative nature is never manifested in worthwhile activities. People feel compelled to seek redress through petitions to administrators, tamashas to please political leaders, letters of introduction from influential persons and such other wasteful actions. Finally they overthrow governments by using the only power they have, the free vote. Usually the vicious circle starts again. Institutionalized economy is pressurised still more by increasing unemployment and inflation.

On the other hand a people's plan of the nature described above sets in motion a series of activities in households and local small communities which will not depend so much on money economy, jobs or impersonal behaviour of distant institutions. It

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* *For details on the Ten Basic Needs, see Sarvodaya Community Education Series No. 26, Moratuwa, Sri Lanka.*

can develop itself into a mass movement aimed at the satisfaction of basic human needs principally depending on people's creativity and efforts in their own social milieu.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement

A good example of such a people's effort for self-development is the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka.

Sarvodaya means awakening or well-being of all; and Shramadana means the sharing or the gift of one's time, thought and energy. Twenty years ago this Movement started with one village and today it has been caught up by over 2000 village communities in Sri Lanka. The numbers of people from villages and urban groups, outside the areas in which the Movement is functioning presently, wanting to join the Sarvodaya village development programmes anew are considerable and cannot be coped with by the organisational facilities available at this moment. Why is it that these people are getting attracted to this Movement knowing very well that it is a non-governmental voluntary effort?

Many reasons can be attributed to this phenomenon, but only one important factor I shall mention here.

People have lost confidence in highly advertised big governmental plans coming down from bureaucrats. Take the Rural Development Movement as an example. Every time a new plan is made known and publicized, people come forward enthusiastically to participate in it expecting some sort of benefit for their villages. In no time they lose interest and withdraw in frustration. Instead of people's participation in self-development they feel themselves caught in a manipulative game serving the interests of a politician or a bureaucrat or some other already privileged person in the village community. Take the co-operative movement; it is the same sort of thing that happens.

In the case of Sarvodaya it is different. They feel that the fullest opportunities are provided for them to participate in planning development activities and working toward their realization. Nobody is left out. All members of the community are able to participate. The spiritual and cultural life of the people is respected and integrated with action to promote social and

economic development. More of those who are committed ideologically and selflessly and less of those who are identified with politics and the privileged take up the leadership in the village.

Sarvodaya Principles

Some of the Sarvodaya principles which are considered to be important for a national development effort and which encourage such a common man's approach to development are as follows:

1. All development efforts should be aimed at the achievement of the fullest awakening of the human personality. Development should be measured by a yardstick which includes the growth of spiritual, cultural and ideological qualities. Development should never be measured primarily by the wealth of consumer goods in the market and services available for him or her.

2. While the fundamental human rights of every individual should be ensured without exception in the eyes the law, the principal aim of any development effort should be to fulfil without delay the social, economic, cultural and spiritual aspirations of that segment of the Society which stands lowest in it. We call this 'antyodaya,' (an as in until) the awakening of the lowliest, lowest and the lost in the society.

3. National Development should have its beginning within the village itself. All development plans should be made with the village taken as the Unit. Development in respect of constituencies and the districts should be undertaken by the co-ordination of those village Units. We call this 'development from the village upwards.'

4. Development plans in the village should be drawn up implemented and evaluated with the fullest participation of the people of the village.

5. The primary goal of local production activities, should be to utilize the human and material resources available in the village, to meet the needs of the village people themselves. There is also an urgent need to provide a methodical training, especially to the youth, to enable them to assume village leadership.

6. Use should be made of appropriate village technologies and organizational structures which the villagers themselves can control.

7. When development plans are assessed in their entirety, they should merge into each other, not causing contradictions or disruptions, when viewed from the philosophical, methodological, and organisational angles.

8. Development should essentially be an effort of the people. In this context, the Public should be made clearly aware that Political Institutions and State Organisations are important only as institutions providing:

   a. Relevant specialized advice and consultation.

   b. Capital.

   c. Legal relief for achieving economic justice.

   d. Equitable distribution of national wealth and resources.

In other words, political, or governmental institutions should in no way be barriers for the promotion of self-reliance, self - sufficiency, and self-management of the communities.

Historical Context: The Colonial Legacy

Four and a half centuries of colonial rule left our villages in a state of decadence in every respect. 85% of our people that lived in our villages were caught in a vicious circle of poverty-disease-ignorance-oppression-disunity and stagnation. To replace it with a constructive cycle of a rediscovered central thought to unite them, spiritual and cultural values to revitalize them and appropriate structures to organise them for self-determination and development, was no easy task for a Movement which had no substantial political or financial power to back its efforts. The acceptance of strong ethical principles such as truth, non-violence and self-denial made this task still harder.

The worst outcome of a colonial experience is the dependency subjugated people cultivate in fostering those values, technologies and structures that have been imposed upon them by the colonial rulers. People begin to identify these as their own and try to defend the state of dependence little realizing that the key to their

liberation and progress lies in the total rejection of those values, practices and structures. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement offered an alternative to the people in which they could re-discover themselves - making them challenge the validity of superimposed values, ideas and systems.

The Sarvodaya Process

This process had to be carefully and patiently allowed to evolve. Building a psychological infrastructure by Shramadana Camps and related techniques, a physical infrastructure by harnessing labour and available knowledge to accomplish tasks that satisfied one or more of their basic human needs, a community leadership which would inspire the community for self-sustaining development efforts irrespective of caste, religion, race or party-political considerations, an appropriate technological leadership which would identify and develop human and material resources in the village, and a social infrastructure where on the one hand people of all ages got involved in the development tasks that affect their needs and on the other hand provide a forum for integrated action as a total community, and building a co-ordinated network of personnel and organisation to give a broader integrity and solidarity were tasks that had to be carried out right from the inception of the Movement.

Understanding the problem and building up the basic organisational structures are tasks that have to be carried out by the trained leaders of the Movement in every village. How this is done is briefly outlined below:

Understanding the Problem

1. To demarcate the village or a group of villages as units, containing between 100 to 150 families for self-development.
2. To prepare a statistical table of the numerical strength of the families in each of the units and to revise the table at the beginning of each year.
3. To carry out a house to house survey with particular reference to basic human needs as enunciated earlier and by analysing

the information collected to prepare a summarised statement giving the total picture of the village.

4. To prepare a list of the human, animal and natural resources available in the village, to wit, village-level technical know-how, skilled and unskilled human resources, soil, water, roadways, vegetation, mineral resources etc., that may be made use of in solving the basic human needs of the people of the village concerned.

5. To objectively assess and understand the problems peculiar to the village or group of villages and to determine remedial measures with particular reference to the needs of the village units concerned and how to satisfy them in relation to the resources locally found.

Building the Village Organisation

1. To organize a Mothers' Group, open to all mothers in the village.

2. To set up a Children's Welfare Centre (for children under 3 years of age) under the sponsorship of the Mothers' Group.

3. To set up a Pre-school (for children between the ages of 3 and 6) under the sponsorship of the Mothers' Group.

4. To set up a Community Kitchen (for infants, for school children, for expectant and lactating mothers, for invalids and the aged) under the sponsorship of the Mothers' Group.

5. To conduct a Health Care Centre under the sponsorship of the Mothers' Group.

6. To organise a Children's Group open to children between the ages of 6 to 15 years.

7. To conduct Shramadana Camps open for school children from Standard 8 upwards.

8. To organise Youth Groups for youths between the ages of 16 and 28 years.

9. To organise a Farmers' Group for all engaged in agriculture as life's occupation.

10. To organise a General Group to include persons not coming within the above named groups, but who belong to various trades and professions such as Teachers, Doctors, Technicians, Engineers, Administrators etc.

11. To establish a Gramodaya* Council composed of three members of each of the groups such as the Mothers' Group, the Children's Group, the Youth Group, the Farmers' Group and the General Group, three members each from Rural Development Society, Community Centre, Co-operative Society etc. Three from societies like Death Aid Societies, Dayaka Sabhas, and the Local Government Representative, Grama Sevaka, Principals of Schools, Public Health Inspector, Midwives etc., members of Local Government and Government bodies and the Chief Incumbent of the village temple, church, kovil or mosque.

12. To set up special committees required by the Gramodaya Council to meet specific needs such as, Shramadana Committees, Education, Health Care Committee, Library Committees etc.

13. To establish a Gramodaya Fund Committee.

14. To establish a Village Technology unit.

Establishing Village Services

The next step is the establishment of Service Centres that each village should have. These can be summarized as follows:

1. Pre-school Service Centre.

   In the Pre-school Service Centre a Children's Clinic, a Children's Group, a Community Kitchen, a Child Health Care Service, and Children's Games are conducted.

2. Sarvodaya Community Centre.

   This is a public building. At this centre a map of the village and other relevant statistics, records and illustrations could be

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* *Gramodaya is the (Grama =Village; Udaya=Awakening) 'Awakening of the Village.' Hence Gramodaya Council is the group that contributes to this awakening.*

displayed. This centre can be made use of for conducting Gramodaya Meetings, as the office for the Sarvodaya activities in the village, as the meeting place of various Sarvodaya Groups in the village, and a repository for tools of the village Sarvodaya Centre. If a separate building cannot be found, the activities referred to, may be conducted at the temple, or school or the Village Community Centre, or the Rural Development Society Centre, or any other public building, with permission.

3. Junior School.
4. Secondary School (if the village is a large one).
5. A place of worship/Aramaya/Temple.
6. Co-operative Stores/Public Market Place.
7. Play ground/Open Air Theatres.
8. Cemetery.
9. Nursery and Seed Bank.
10. Rural Bank/ Savings/Insurance/Services.
11. Rural Technical Services Centre.
12. Village Library.

These are some of the institutions and facilities that should be encouraged in the village.

Initiating Development Activities

An on-going programme of collective development activities such as the following are initiated in village communities:

1. To initiate the services enumerated above step by step.
2. To carry on an uninterrupted programme of Development Education by all organizations.
3. To organise on a self-help basis, the public services needed by the village, and with the support of various Local and Central Government Units, build up such services step by step.
4. To construct roadways to the village or group of villages

suitable for vehicular traffic and at least foot paths of about three feet wide, leading to all the houses and to maintain them regularly.

5. To provide each and every family with a constant supply of water, thus meeting the essential need for drinking, cooking, bathing, and washing purposes.

6. To construct ponds, tanks, channels, and pipe lines to provide water for home gardens and other agricultural work.

7. To evolve an integrated soil conservation programme that will cover the entire village.

8. To re-claim marshes, wasteland and lands containing brackish water, so as to make them suitable for agriculture.

9. To plant trees of utility value for purposes of shade by side of foot paths, village paths, and main roads and also on the boundaries of personal property.

10. To conduct collective nurseries to keep the entire village easily supplied with seeds, seedlings and plants of cereals, medicinal plants, fruit trees and other trees of economic value.

11. To have a manure pit or a compost pit in every household to methodically dispose of refuse and thus ensuring a supply of fertilizer.

12. To devise systematic drainage facilities to prevent water from stagnating, thereby preventing stench and potential breeding places for flies, mosquitoes and other harmful insects.

13. To construct latrines for each and every house and provide such adequate facilities at public places.

14. To construct temporary, semi-permanent and permanent centres for community work, utilizing available and potential resources.

15. To implement a scheme of providing low-cost houses, from the poorest upwards to all inhabitants of the village.

16. To set up economic units capable of producing furniture, earthenware and other utensils for the households, building

materials such as bricks, sand, doors and windows and implements, axes, crow-bars, katties, etc.

Conclusion

As far as the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is concerned, its most apparent characteristic is its mass nature. This eliminates a weakness that most government programmes have. People cultivate a belonging to what happens around them with their participation. An intelligent and democratic governmental programme can easily incorporate itself into this mass approach to self-development without trying to dominate it. Similarly even international establishments - I would not rule out even the World Bank or even UNDP - can integrate themselves into a people's programme of this nature if they truly believe in what they have publicly pronounced as development precepts.

One of the biggest myths and fallacies that dominate the thinking of most development planners in poor world societies is that the world population as a whole could be given their basic minimum human needs, provided with full employment, and even made to enjoy a high standard of living similar to average citizens in the rich countries, by following the footpaths of the production strategies of successful national and multi-national commercial enterprises though this is not accepted by them openly. I dare say that the value systems, strategies and structures have been adopted keeping those profit making establishments as an example. It is foolish to assume that a system based on exploitation of people and resources can provide guidelines to liberate the exploited millions and preserve an ecological balance.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana example, therefore, should not be viewed from those fallacious standards but should be considered for whatever it is worth from the point of view of common sense and confidence in people's intelligence and inherent capacity to meet successfully their basic human needs. Personally, I believe the best the establishment can do is to remove the obstacles that have been placed upon the people voluntarily or involuntarily over a period of four centuries, thus preventing them from awakening to their own potential.

ROLE OF SHRAMADANA IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

'What is the first principle in rural development? The identification of a leadership that comes from the people is the first principle of development. This leadership dedicated to hard labour, a simple life and sacrifice rises above others in a struggle to re-structure the rural life. The second principle is the need to integrate rural culture and the development effort. Cultural values can reinforce, discipline and motivate people in development. The third principle is the utilization of the Shramadana Camp as the main instrument for the initiation of long term development programmes. The fourth is to recognize the supremacy of the people and to involve them in an organised form in the development exercise which would include an integrated programme to provide educational, health, economic and self-government efforts that enable every man, woman and child to participate in creating a new life for all, realising the joy of living and working together for the benefit of all, sharing the material and non-material resources equitably'

How the Movement Began

The concept and practice of sel-help through the sharing of one's mental and physical energy are as old as our civilization itself. At different times in the history of Sri Lanka this was known by different names such as 'Samudan,' 'Kaiya,' 'Aththan ', 'Rajakariya' and 'Athmopakaraya.'

The word 'Shramadana' was introduced for the first time in this country fourteen years ago by a band of teachers and students of Nalanda Vidyalaya, Colombo.* They founded an all island Movement called the Shramadana Movement for the reconstruction of rural areas though initially through an Educational Extension Service Programme. Their sustained efforts along with other fraternal groups resulted in the now world

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* *For details of this initial exercise see Nandasena Ratnapala's 'The Sarvodaya and the Rodiyas', Sarvodaya Research, Sri Lanka - 1979.*

famous Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri lanka.

Thought and Action

The literal meaning of the word Shramadana is sharing of one's time, thought and energy for the welfare of all. For the founders of this Movement, Shramadana was only a medium of constructive action to bring about a non-violent total revolution in man and society to build up a new social order. Sarvodaya is their ideal society where they expect to see an awakening individual (Purna Paurushodaya, an awakening village (Gramodaya, an awakening nation (Deshodaya, and an awakening world community (Vishvodaya). All of these are integrated in a dynamic course of non-violent constructive process of social change. For them the Sarvodaya Thought and Shramadana Action are inseparable and must go together.

Liberation of Man and Society

Shramadana action is an excellent instrument for Rural Development provided it is applied in the broader context of the Sarvodaya development ideal. The effectiveness of Shramadana is bound to be lost if this form of action is used only as a money saving process to realize a physical objective. In the recent past more damage than good has been done in many areas by some people, who knowingly or unknowingly, equated Shramadana to some form of free-labour movement. They desired to create non-monetized capital to compensate for the serious lack of capital needed for national development. Perhaps they would have served the country better if they concentrated more on an all out effort to prevent waste of capital resources which were already being spent from Government funds; Shramadana to us has had a more profound meaning and significance. To us it is a positive force for the total liberation of man and society from their present social, economic and political deterioration. The bureaucratisation of Shramadana, we maintained, defeated the very object of founding the Shramadana Movement.

Development without Servitude

Development is primarily an activization of human and material resources of a country for increased production of goods and services which leads to the general progress and welfare of her people. An effective development programme should not of

necessity be restricted only to the removal of social injustices already prevailing in that society but should take care not to allow the advent of new forms of oppressive systems be they political, technocratic or bureaucratic in character. In other words economic development programmes should not result in reducing the human being from the status of a 'person' to that of a 'thing,' from being 'subject' to that of being an 'object'.

The Shramadana concept was introduced to this country by the Sarvodaya Shramadana workers of Sri Lanka with the above perspective of removing social and economic injustices, ensuring increased economic growth, freeing society from all forms of exploitation of man by man, establishing an equitable distribution system of goods and services, liberating the human being so that he may be able to participate in decision-making as a person and a subject in such a development process in which he is the master and not the slave.

Initiative, Leadership, Participation

In Shramadana the human being is at the same time the destination, the means and the helmsman of the development exercise. This is not a vague and theoretical intellectualization of a distant objective as that which some of those who manage political bureaucratic and technocratic institutions of the country have dubbed as democratic socialism or socialist democracy, and which they naively expect the people to understand and put into concrete form. On the other hand the Sarvodaya concept and Shramadana action are a living philosophy and a concrete practical programme with which the people are already familiar by their cultural conditioning and traditional co-operative way of living.

Then where lies the need for promoting in an organised form the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement? The answer is we have to remove the causes that kill the people's initiative, leadership and participation in the development of their true constructive vigour flowering forth from the grass-roots of their society and spreading through all strata upwards.

A Three-fold Cause

What now are these causes? I would identify the causes by those which are thus affected. They are the individual, the group

and the community organisation.

Firstly, the prolonged subjugation to colonial domination had resulted in the deterioration of the average individual, from his independent stature to that of being a mere dependent creature bereft of creature comforts to a highly materialistically motivated society. Secondly, the entire rural infrastructure both in the physical and psychological sense was disintegrated and a replacement of this vital element in village society never took place. Thirdly, the rural population became organisationally the nourishing ground to sustain a centralised form of bureaucratic party representing political, landed and capitalistic vested interests of those who inhabited the affluent urban areas. Thus the rural areas were sucked out of their vital human leadership, social coherence and freedom to manage their own affairs.

Personality Awakening

The governmental rural development schemes during the last three decades fell far short of their expectations as they never visualised a bold attempt to remove the aforesaid triple factors from the rural scene.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana approach to rural development begins with an apprehension of these at the very roots. In this context Shramadana is primarily an attempt to give an opportunity to as many persons as possible both rural and urban to free their personalities from slavish dependence by becoming truly conscious of the causes that have given rise to the problems they are faced with.

Shramadana, while restoring the freedom of action and awakening of personality of the individual should lead him to participate in a Gramodaya or village Re-awakening Programme. He becomes a participant in planning and implementing of programmes designed to bring about changes in the educational, health, economic and organisational aspects of the life of his community in an integrated scheme of village (group) development. The personal and the group awakening that takes place through Shramadana and Gramodaya Movement brings about a consciousness in the individual and community about the need for the removal of unjust social systems that have enslaved the rural people for generations. In other words Shramadana and

Gramodaya Movements should lead to a revolutionary change in the structural life of the community which will eventually bring about Purna Swarajya or Total Freedom. A successful rural development programme can only take place under this Total Freedom.

When the Shramadana Movement was launched in this country we had no illusions about the need for this threefold approach of Education (through Sharamadana), Development (through Gramodaya) and Participation (through Purna Swarajya) if our efforts were to have any true significance in rural and national development. Shramadana always has to be viewed in this revolutionary perspective and I believe the only alternative to violent structural change in this country is this non-violent revolutionary action.

Having mentioned the place of Shramadana practice in the context of a broad social objective I shall next briefly mention some salient operational principles relevant to the role of Shramadana in Rural Development.

Leadership

Motivation and mobilisation of human resources for development need good leadership. The first principle I would stress is effective rural leadership. We have human resources in abundance. But due to the lack of effective leadership at the rural level these resources remain unused, wasted and even become a social burden. The rural areas have had their ' chieftains' but I wouldn't call them leaders. Those who generally went by the name 'leaders' were at most benefactors, heroes or geniuses as people saw them. They may receive gratitude or admiration from the people but they may not succeed in moving and inspiring the people to a sense of oneness towards the achievement of an objective.

The leaders we need for our villages today are those who can help people to learn to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and take action against the oppressive elements that stand in the way to progress. They rise above themselves in a struggle to re-structure the physical and psychological infrastructure of the village by hard labour and sacrifices.

Shramadana Camps

Shramadana Camps provide an excellent opportunity for such true leadership to emerge among rural communities. The provision of opportunities for the emergence of these leaders who truly represent the wishes and aspirations of the people and in concrete constructive action march with the people towards desired goals, I consider to be, a very positive contribution the Shramadana Movement can make towards Rural Development.

Rural Culture

The second principle I would stress in the need to integrate rural culture and the development efforts. Motivation for people to participate in rural development can be brought about by good leaders by inspiring them with relevant cultural values. Mobilisation in brought about by placing before the people realizable objectives that are beneficial to them. This indigenous culture and the science of community development have to be closely combined in Shramadana programmes. In the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, Metta (loving kindness), Karuna (or compassionate action), Muditha (or unselfish joy) and Upekka (or equanimity) are the four basic values that are used to inspire individuals. Shramadana is an act of Karuna. Dana (or sharing),Priya Vachana (or pleasant speech), Arthacharya (or constructive action) and Samanathmatha (or equality) are the other four traditional values stressed to inspire and motivate the group.

Long Term Planning

The third principle is to utilize Shramadana Camps as the principle instrument for the initiation of a long term development programme. A strict code of self-discipline, a time table which provides for 6 to 8 hours of physical work and 3 to 4 hours of education through dialogue, song and dance, well organised teams and special task groups, preparatory and follow-up programmes, etc., have to be integral parts of any worthwhile Shramadana project. The social and economic surveys of the village as a whole and of every family unit should follow and not precede the Shramadana Camp stage. People should be free to evolve their own development plans based on a simplified understanding of the findings of the surveys.

People's Formations

The fourth principle is the involvement of all people in the village - the young and old men and women-in organised form in the development exercise with direct benefits accruing to every such formation by their own efforts. An integrated programme to promote educational, health, economic and self-governmental development should be drawn up to enable every man, woman and child to participate in building a new life for themselves. In every stage of this exercise they should feel the joy of living and working together.

People are Supreme

I am not going into the logistics of Shramadana work as this aspect will be similar to any other serious programme of constructive work involving men, material and know-how. However it should be mentioned as a fifth principle that the governmental and other external agencies should smoothly fit into this programme rather than expect the people to fit into a so-called village development programme which has been formulated without their participation and imposed on them from above as during colonial times. Unless a government has immense capital and human resources and limitless know-how and personnel, has no respect for rural man as a human being and is prepared to negate the elements of much talked theories of democracy and socialism, I believe that, the surest way to keep our villages 'undeveloping' is to continue the present exercise of monopolistic planning and implementation from above. Two and a half decades of such planning has proved not only of scant comparative benefit to rural people but also has brought about disastrous social consequences. This haughty thinking at the top must be reversed and people must be given total freedom and a chance to think, plan and to act. Shramadana Movement has proved that the people are well capable of accepting that responsibility.

Structural Change

The legislators can do better than sermonize on the virtures of Shramadana. They should by law remove the structural injustices that our people are subjected to today such as landlessness, lack of

power to participate in decision-making processes that affect their lives and political discrimination in the allocation of governmental resources for development.

Are the Elite Ready?

One final observation. The elite must undergo a fundamental change in their attitude to rural development. They should stop playing the dominating Law Giver and Superman role with rural people. On the other hand they should be humble enough to find ways and means of placing their expert knowledge and resources at the disposal of rural people in accordance with the latter's needs, aspirations and wishes. By personal experience I know that tens of thousands of our rural people have awakened to sacrifice their time, thought and energy through the Shramadana Movement to build up a better Sri Lanka. But how many of our politicians, bureaucrats and the rich are ready to join them in this sacrifice?

CAMPING FOR SHARING & THE MAKING OF A NEW HUMAN BEING

'What I mean by psychosphere is that every moment we release a thought energy - whether it is during the time we are awake or asleep, there is a stream of thought energy that we continuously release - this thought energy is generally impregnated with so much of hatred, greed, anguish, and ignorance, that in the result there is an envelope of psychic energy in our what you may call the 'thinking sphere' which influences our thoughts. The result is that whenever somebody says, 'I want to do this good thing for humanity', there will be thousands who will say, 'no, don't do it; you can't do it'. This is due to the influence that a bad psychosphere has on our thinking. Therefore, in development there is a very much neglected aspect we have to think of - the aspect of releasing a spiritual energy that can counteract this corrupt and polluted psychosphere. This is where Meditation comes in'

I wonder how many of you realise that nearly 90% of the peoples of the world live in village communities. I would say that there are 2 million villages in the world and that most of the problems that humanity is facing today you will find in these villages. If, however, you see the fruits of science and technology you will see them mostly in the cities. In other words, though the majority of the people of the world live in rural areas, they are the most neglected areas of the world. If we are to develop a nation, therefore, we believe that we should develop the villages of that nation. Taking my own country, Sri Lanka, over 80% of our people still live in a little over 23, 000 villages.

Now, what do we mean by village development? Is it modernisation, is it bringing in new methods and techniques to make life easy for the people in the village or is it the creation of an economic, social and psychological environment where each individual in a community can realise the total personality development of such a person and make for a worthwhile

community life? We, in this part of the world, who are still steeped somewhat in a spiritual and cultural past believe that development should be total. It should not be confined only to the production of more goods and services catering to the needs of people. It should also have its spiritual, cultural and ethical components. What is most important is the happiness of man. Looking at the problem in this manner you will agree with me that the villages are the ideal places where a balanced development programme could be initiated.

Camping for Sharing

Speaking through my own experience in the villages of Sri Lanka, we are used to making a beginning by laying a very strong psychological infrastructure in the village. Villagers must think together, plan together and also implement programmes together. For this, the most essential thing is to lay what I called a psychological infrastructure. How the Sarvodaya Movement is doing this is as follows: A group of us who are interested in helping the people to help themselves to build up their community, go and encamp in a village and have a planned programme of activities going on for a weekend, for a week or for even a longer time. We called it a Shramadana camp-a camp where you share your labour for the well-being of all.

A Shramadana camp provides the psychological, social and physical environment where the individual and the group can find a totality of life. What do I mean by this? According to our culture we believe that if a human personality is to awaken there are four requisites. Firstly, our mind and heart should be full of respect for all life and friendliness towards all beings. We call it Metta. You may call it loving kindness.

Conquest of Suffering

Loving kindness towards all is the thought that an awakening personality should have. But this thought is not enough; it is only the motivation which should lead us to compassionate action. When our minds and hearts are full of love for humanity and for the living world, then we are quick to see the suffering that we

witness around us. Nearly one-third of humanity is starving; nearly one-third of the children in the world do not attend school; nearly one- third of our brother human beings do not have the basic amenities of life. In other words, there is so much suffering going on around us that those who are mindful of respect for life should go in search of those who are suffering and try to help remove the cause of their suffering. We call this Karuna - compassionate action. The thoughts of Metta or loving kindness and Karuna or compassionate action, result in unselfish joy which is the third component for an awakening personality. You see people starving and you find out why they are starving. You see they have land but they have no irrigation facilities. The Government has no money to put up a Tank or water reservoir or to open up irrigation canals. We go into the village, find out how many people are needed for how many days to put up the tank and also to give irrigation facilities. We all encamp in the village, working with village people and we help them to complete this project on self-help. People get the water; they cultivate the land but now they find it difficult to get loans, or to have capital until they get an income. Through a revolving fund we try to find them the necessary money to do their cultivation, to buy their seed, to buy their fertilizer and to subsist till they get their harvest. All this leads to the solution of a basic problem that the people were faced with. Once they solve the problem they are very happy. When we see their joy, we ourselves get an unselfish joy because we have helped to remove the cause of their hunger. This is what I call unselfish joy or altruistic joy.

Fourthly, in a world full of organised greed, hatred and ignorance, this type of altruistic action is not quite appreciated; people attribute motives. So as social workers when we go into the villages and try to help our brother human-beings, we find lots of people who will be indifferent to what we are doing. Their indifference will lead to ridicule. They may abuse us and even feel repressed but finally they will respect us. All this should not discourage us or make us arrogant. We must look at all this, or experience all this, with a sense of equanimity. Therefore, through Shramadana camp what we expect to do is to motivate human beings to live up to these four principles or to make these four

principles an integral part of their life. The principle of respect for life, compassionate action to remove the causes that lead to suffering in human beings, learning to get unselfish joy, and ability to have a psychological balance to face loss and gain, fame and blame. These four principles lead to personality awakening.

Driving out Social Unrest

Similarly, we have four other principles of group behaviour. These four principles are Sharing, Pleasant language, Constructive activity and Equality. In our world, unless we share our wealth, share our power, share our responsibilities, conflict will invariably arise. Today, through educational systems, through political movements, through economic arrangements, the individual is all the time running after power, position and wealth. This leads to an almost inhuman type of competition and all types of social unrest. The only answer to this situation lies in human beings learning to live together and sharing together. That is why in a village community, when we start a project, we give a lot of emphasis to this concept of Sharing - the sharing of our labour, the sharing of our intelligence, the sharing of our knowledge, the sharing of our wealth or land, or responsibility or power. This is something that happens in a family Within a family there is sharing; if there is no sharing the strongest gets the biggest share of the income in a family and such a family can never be happy. So sharing, as we practice in our family life, we try to practice in a Shramadana camp. Secondly, we talk to one another in a very pleasant language. Elder brother, elder sister, younger brother, younger sister, son and daughter, father, mother are the terms and words we use to address one another.

Thirdly, every minute in a camp between 5 in the morning and 10 in the evening is used for constructive action. Not a minute is wasted and fourthly everything is done as equals - equality in association. So these four principles give the necessary guidelines for group behaviour.

Discovering Real Leadership

Now, based on these eight principles - four for the individuals and four for the Group, we encamp in a village for several days. We do seven to eight hours of physical labour in opening up of a

new road to the village, or repairing the old road in the village, in bringing them irrigation facilities, in helping people to solve environmental sanitation problems, in soil conservation, in opening up a new co-operative agricultural farm and things like this - so that in addition to the spiritual and cultural content in this whole programme there is an immediate physical benefit that the people get.

One result of all this activity that is going on for several days in the year is that an indigenous leadership is built in the village.

Normally the village has certain traditional leadership which is not at all times the best type of leadership. For example, when the British left our country they left us a colonial type of administration, where the village level administrator was responsible to his superior in the area and not to the village people. This man, therefore, represented outside interests and not the aims and aspirations of the people in the village. This type of leadership is a very superficial type of leadership. In a Shramadana camp another type of leadership springs up. These are the people who love the members of their community; people who want to sacrifice for the welfare of other people; people who are intelligent and capable of handling a village level project; people who can command respect; people with integrity. Mostly, the young people come up and show their potential during a Shramadana camp. Another type of traditional leadership is in the form of money-lender, or the landlord, or the local political representative of a Party that is based in the city. All this leadership is a superficial, artificial type of leadership. So an indigenous leadership is brought up from the village itself now.

Secondly, without slavishly waiting until the Government does everything for them, people themselves try to build up their community on self-reliance and the people begin to feel that they are also capable of planning out a project that is beneficial to them, without waiting till distant bureaucrats and politicians come and plan for them. In other words, development from below, development from the village upwards become a reality. As you know, in our country as well as other countries of the developing world, most of the development plans were drawn up in cities, away from reality. In actual fact, development programmes should be drawn up within the village itself; then only these programmes

become realistic and capable of being implemented.

Showing Path to Own Potential

A Shramadana Camp in a village therefore is an awakening process, a consciousness awakening process, a process of building up an awareness about their own potentiality for self-development. Once you bring about this change in attitude-psychological foundation as I call it-then you can come to the next stage where a thorough social and economic survey can be carried out because the people have confidence in you. You have shown them the way and they feel that they are the people who are planning and implementing the programme. Now, having gone through this first stage of laying a psychological infra-structure, we can come to the second stage of village development. I would call this physical infrastructure. Every village needs its environmental sanitation facilities. They need a source of water both for drinking and washing purposes; they need water for irrigation; they have to conserve their soil to prevent soil erosion. This physical planning can best be done by the people themselves.

The third stage of the village development programme is the laying of a social infrastructure. Development must not only be brought to the people; it must be a process: it must be an exercise undertaken by the people themselves; and by people I mean not only the bureaucrat, the politician and the educated people but all men, women and children in the village. We have several formations that are organised in the village.

Catering to Needy Children

We have children's schools where children below the age of six are organised. They are divided into two groups - children between 3 1/2 to 6 and children below 3 years of age. For the first group we organise a pre-school. There without teaching them reading, writing and similar skills, we prepare them to go to school, but the emphasis is on health, nutrition and socialisation. We have over 200 pre-schools already organised in various parts of the country. Pre-school helpers are trained girls from the villages themselves - trained at the Sarvodaya Headquarters. They learn how to make use of various herbs, plants and foodstuffs available in the locality itself, so that they can find the children a

diet containing enough proteins and vitamins. This is done especially through what we call Community Kitchens for needy children. At the moment we have about 120,000 children who are getting one balanced meal a day from these community kitchens. These children are periodically examined by visiting medical teams.

In Sri Lanka we have a satisfactory network of Health Clinics. So we approach these Divisional Health Officers and also private medical practitioners both Western and Ayurvedic (indigenous), and request them to visit our Pre-schools or the Community Kitchens and regularly examine the children and give whatever medical assistance is necessary, and also to carry out immunisation and such programmes. Organisation of library facilities, recreational facilities, out-of-school care and assistance are some other programmes which are conducted for the benefit of this group. The third is the out-of-school youth group and this youth group will be the backbone of the entire development process in the village. These are the people who get a training in social economic surveys, village community leadership, organisation and conduct of Shramadana camps, and follow up the planning and carrying out of a development strategy for the village with the people's self-help.

Training Centres

Then these young people are also trained at our training centres for varying periods of time, may be three months or six months or one year or two years, depending on the type of training they undergo. They are trained in carpentry, village technology, various arts and crafts, community leadership, etc., and when they go back to the village they train other people and undertake responsibilities in the village.

The fourth group we organise is a Mothers' Group. Now all the family welfare programmes are implemented through them. Then we have the Farmers' Group. As you know, in Sri Lanka we have nearly 1.2 million farmers out of a population of 13 1/2 million, and a farmer's average family is 6.5 which means nearly 8 million people are dependent on agriculture. So in every village we form a group - a Farmers' Group - who also become an integral part of

the development programme.

Then we have an Other's Group of Government Servants and various people having their special skills. They are also formed into a group. So all these grouped together form a sort of an adhoc village re- awakening council and these are the people who take over the local functions of village development.

When a village is set in motion in this manner for self-development, outside organisations, whether they are governmental or voluntary have to put in certain inputs namely, new skills, capital and new organisations for example in buying and selling - in other words, co-operatives, so that the middleman could be eliminated.

Freeing Villagers from Exploitation

Now here a complete cycle is gone through beginning with a certain non-economic foundation and going in to the economic. And of course all these activities are interwoven with the song and the dance and the culture, the ceremonies, the customs, the habits, which are all interwoven into this whole force so that there is a humanising effect to the development programme. All this is necessary because unfortunately in our world today, development means increasing the growth- economic growth so as to measure it in terms of per capita income, growth rate and what-not- a very unintelligible language to the villager.

We, however, bring development right to the doorstep of the villager, so that he can understand what the whole exercise means. When we start a programme in several villages, like for example our hundred villages development programme, it has now expanded to over 600 villages- to cater to the needs of these village programmes we have to have other programmes - training centres, a revolving fund which can provide loans on easy terms and without delay to the village people, and outlets for their produce, so that they would not be exploited. So all these ancillary activities have to be organised to service the new development process in the village.

Now coming back to the place where we started, what is the role of the voluntary agents in this whole business? In fact all that

I spoke now has nothing to do with official development programmes, because I don't believe that Government should be the main Agency that should bring about development. Undoubtedly they have a key role to play. People must plan out and Government should assist, because in this world Governments have become too powerful. Those who wield power become easily corrupt and as they say, the more power you have the more chances there are for you to get corrupt. The result is, today in the world we have come to a situation where all the findings of modern science are used mostly for destructive purposes. You take any developing country and you have more bullets than human beings in those countries. Take the world as a whole, we have amassed so much of explosive power that this earth can be blasted to pieces, several times over. We have polluted our biosphere; we have polluted our atmosphere and also we have polluted our psychosphere.

What I mean by psychosphere is that every moment we release a thought energy - whether it is during the time we are awake or asleep there is a stream of thought energy that we continuously release - this thought energy is generally impregnated with so much of hatred, greed, anguish, ignorance, that in the result there is an envelope of psychic energy in our, what you may call, the 'thinking sphere', which influences our thought. The result is that whenever somebody says I want to do this good thing for humanity, there will be thousands who will say, 'No don't do it, you can't do it'. This is due to the influence that a bad psychosphere has on our thinking. Therefore, in development there is a very much neglected aspect we have to think of - the aspect of releasing a spiritual energy that can counteract this corrupt polluted psychosphere. This is where meditation comes in

Cleansing Mind of Evil Thought

Now we as volunteer workers should be motivated by the highest altruistic motives. Our minds should always vibrate, as I mentioned earlier, with love for the entire living world, which we call Sarvodaya, the awakening of all. In the Sarvodaya movement we practice this by meditation on breathing in and breathing out, with the idea of concentrating our thoughts.

Secondly, meditation on loving kindness, where we start with our own body and our own mind, let my body be healthy, let my mind be healthy, let my mind be free from greed, hatred and ignorance. Similarly I think of my mother, my father, my wife, my children, my friends, the entire human family in this entire living world. When you do this you lose yourself and as the Bible says, when you lose yourself you find yourself. There is a terrific energy now, a thought energy you have concentrated and you have universalised.

Then, thirdly, you have what is called conscious willing - may my country be a land of righteousness, may my country be a land of plenty, may my world be a peaceful world where everybody lives like brothers, may my world not have any rich or any poor, let all have their needs satisfied, let all live as members of one family. Now this type of thought energy has to be constantly liberated by us if we are to clear up the psychosphere. This is the first force that the Volunteer Movement should release if they are to build up not only the villages but also the people who inhabit those villages.

Secondly, we have to release a force of production - people must get into a mood of producing and sharing what they produce. Production and sharing should go together.

Thirdly, people must make maximum use of their culture. Every society has its cultural roots. Because of the impact of modern materialistic civilisation most people cannot see these cultural values. I have been to many developed countries. In spite of all the skyscrapers and all the modern gadgets that save labour and please your senses, I have seen certain cultural traits which can still be made full use of for the happiness of man. So culture is a very important component in the development process.

Lion Flag-Symbol of Self - Reliance

Particularly in the so-called third world or the poorer part of the world, we are still steeped very much in culture. We must revive this culture in such a way that it would supplement our efforts in economic development. In the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka we are doing this very much. For example, we give the cultural message through our flag - a flag where you get a lion symbolising self- reliance, dignity, courage, discipline, the four Bo

leaves symbolising respect for life, compassionate action, altruistic joy and equanimity, and again, sharing, pleasant language, constructive activity and equality, the sword symbolising righteousness. The ten principles of a good ruler namely sharing, morality, ability to recognise and promote talent, straightforwardness, impartiality in administering justice, composure in conduct, non-hatred , non-violence, patience and forgiveness, and non- revengefulness, are all characteristics which are given by culture. Now this cultural force is the third force we have to release - firstly the spiritual force, secondly the production and sharing force, thirdly the cultural force.

The New Human Being

Fourthly we have an integrational force where we cut across all man-made barriers of caste, race, religion and nationality and think of humanity as one, because physically we have come so close to one another. Psychologically also we must come close to one another, otherwise there will be a contradiction that will lead to ruin.

Fifthly, we must build up a new ideology - an ideology of self-reliance, an ideology where you believe that development is not only the production of material goods and services, but also the building up of a new human being, the joy of living and that development is something to do with people. In other words, it should be human - being centred. There must be human values in development. The whole development process should have a humanising effect. Development should start not from cities or capitals of countries but from below, from the grass-roots. We must develop those who are most depressed first, from the lowliest, the lowest and the lost. It is like that, that we have to give a new ideological force.

Now these five forces - spiritual, cultural, production and sharing, integrational and ideological forces can build up a new village. building a new village means building a new world, where we shall banish everything that is evil and promote everything that is good for happiness and well-being and peace of humanity.

ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN DEVELOPMENT: THE SRI LANKA CASE

'People's power is the supreme power of all. It is called Jana Shakti because it emanates from the People and is sustained by the People, for the People. It eventually means that the People themselves decide their plans of development and what development means to them, put these plans into action by themselves, that is through their own participation. There is, therefore, no power above the People's Power in which the Sarvodaya believes'

In 1960 we were informed of a village in my country where a highly criminally minded community was supposed to be living Two of us set for this village and just before we finally crossed the village border we encountered a young man who taught me a very fundamental reality in community development. This man, as we discovered later, himself an island - reconvicted -criminal, was extraordinarily disrespectful towards us when we first met him. He wanted to find out in the first instance who we were and what brought us to the village. When we asked him to make a guess as to who we were, he made three very interesting guesses. First he said, 'You must be government officials who come to collect statistics and advise us. Many like you have come and gone but our plight remains the same. Go ahead. We are used to people like you'. His second guess was that an election would be coming round and we had come to canvass their votes. They also do seasonally come and go. When he was given a third chance he was quick to guess that we were 'from the C.I.D. - the secret police.'

These three guesses give a general background to the true situation in our village life and an understanding of the implications of the same helps us to open up a new avenue in the development strategy that we have to adopt particularly with the involvement of the voluntary agencies.

Now who is coming directly in contact with our people and who is responsible for the social and economic reconstruction of

our rural communities? First, the paid government official whose incentives come generally from his salary, promotions and other remunerative considerations; secondly, the politician who is motivated by the acquisition and retention of power, and thirdly, the police who are out to find the evils in men and get them punished.

There are always exceptions to all these categories of people on whom we depend to build up a new Asia, a new Africa. Naturally their achievements fall far short of expectations for by their very organisational nature they have ceased to be any more a part and parcel of the general mass of the common village people on whose drive, education, energy, initiative, labour and resources the whole strategy of rural development depends.

In planning and implementation of community development projects people have been left out as distant on-lookers. Further, instead of foreign masters, the white sahibs and colonial armies, rural people should not be made to look upon the local politicians, the brown sahibs and the police force as agents of national development. They must be made to feel that they are now free and are the masters of their own destinies. The State power which we call Danda Shakthi, the power to punish -to destroy, should be replaced by people's power of Jana Shakthi - the inherent strength, the goodness and creative talent of a people. In other words, we have to revert back to what has been natural to our people. Then only will their creative genius be evoked to improve their lot. Otherwise for a very long time to come we have to continue to be dependent, under-developed and poor.

If we are to get into the business of rural development seriously then there is no gainsaying the fact that we have to involve the very people for whom development programmes are directed. The rural people with all their physical and mental energies, with their culture and traditions, with everything that is theirs have to be totally involved in the development process. How can we do this? We have found by practice that youth with a purpose, initiative and training can do this.

Let me illustrate this with a simple example; again one out of the scores of experiences we have had in the Shramadana Movement. Epakande is a beautiful village situated right on top of

a mountain. Over 1200 families live in this village. Along a winding sloping and dangerous footpath people of this village had to walk two and a half miles to reach the motorable road. Looking at the terrain which rises to an elevation of about 1000 feet within half a mile, it was hardly imaginable for any voluntary agency to cut a road to this village. All development programmes of this village were at a standstill due to the lack of an access road. However, for over fifteen years a young man of the village had tried to cut this road with voluntary labour. After some time he was left alone with about six others at this job and he earned the label 'eccentric' for trying the impossible.

It was at this stage that the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement was called in by them to include this village in its Hundred Villages Development Programme. Immediately the preliminary surveys were made, the number of man-days needed for the job was roughly assessed, camp sites, food collections etc., were made, tools and implements were sent to the village and 300 volunteers from the Movement started work on this project. Over 700 people from the village and the surrounding areas joined them in this labour of love. In four week -end camps the project was completed to the thorough astonishment of the technical experts of the district whose instruments had indicated that along that terrain a road was a prohibitively expensive proposition for the government, leaving aside voluntary effort. Today a motorable road runs right up to the top-most point in the village for the government could not help but recognise the people's efforts and they undertook the metalling and other technical aspects of the job. "The Eccentric Leader' has hundreds of willing workers today, not only in his own village but also in the adjoining villages. He is the local Sarvodaya Shramadana leader.

This type of leader with a band of willing workers can bring about a total revolution in village communities. They fill an important gap which exists today between governmental programmes and the people. Though we are politically free still people are not free to participate in planning and implementation of their own developmental projects. There is a vertical line of authority coming down from the Parliament, Minister, Permanent Secretaries and Directors of Departments right down to the village level government official. It stops there and the responsibility of

even the lowest official in the bureaucracy is not towards the people that he serves but to this superior official. To the people, the elected Member of Parliament is responsible, but in reality he has no authority over the bureaucracy. Hence to remain in power he has to arouse various sentimental and superficial feelings of people such as caste, creed, language and communal issues. This is a hidden but a very powerful obstacle to our economic and social regeneration particularly in the rural areas.

Under these circumstances, the youth, therefore, come in not only as a very effective bridge between governmental schemes and people's participation but also as the most powerful mass force that joins all sectors of the community in a developmental effort operating above the still preserved colonial type of administration and a power and position orientated system of party politics. This is also a process of re-educating the educated, a process of throwing back to the people a challenge of initiating programmes to solve their multifarious problems by their own effort and initiative.

The youth has to have a clear and realistic philosophy of life both pertaining to himself and to his relationship with his village, nation and the world. The thought we advocate is the all-embracing concept of the 'welfare of all' expressed by the word Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya for the individual is nothing short of the fullest development of his personality.His target for himself is to possess a healthy and well trained physique, sharp and penetrating intelligence, a thirst for more and more knowledge, development of his mental faculties to get an all embracing view of his own life and his physical and social environment and finally to develop his emotional life so as to make qualities of love, service, equality, sacrifice and fearlessness a part of his total personality. All these things when practically and consciously realized result in an immense potential which is evolved in the youth's personality which can initiate total social changes based on non-violence and spiritual motivation.

Our minds have expanded so much as to place in our hands vast scientific and technological resources and inventions which can either make this world a place of unprecedented happiness and prosperity or completely annihilate not only the human species but also the entire living world. Our hearts have to expand so as to

embrace the entire human family if we are to survive. This is the challenge of our times and the youth have to be inspired and guided into this way of total thinking, feeling, and acting.

The second objective that is linked with the Sarvodaya concept is the awakening of our villages. Most of our people exist in villages but they do not live as self-determining and progressive people for the simple reason that all our administrative and developmental systems are city controlled. Therefore if nations have to be awakened in the developing world priority has to be given as to the awakening of village communities.

The irony of technological advancement with clearly visible evolution of mass destructive power demands that the future of the world lies not in centralized and big powers but in decentralized and small communities. Youth must take the initiative in bringing home to the village communities and urban intelligentsia this reality. Voluntary but well organized integrated programmes of community development involving education to fight ignorance, health programmes to fight disease, economic programmes to fight poverty and self-governmental programmes to fight dependence on external authority and coercion, must be undertaken by youth.

Shramadana means pooling together of voluntary resources both mental and physical on a mass scale and carrying out people-centred community projects. Through this media with little capital, great material as well as social progress has been made eg. in the villages of Sri Lanka.

Thirdly, the ideals and objectives with regard to the awakening of one's own notion should be clear in the minds of youth. The concept of national re-awakening brings you face to face with essential problems such as national integration, administrative efficiency, political re-organisation etc. Programmes once again based on Shramadana where all sections of community, political, linguistic, social, religious and caste are brought together should be envisaged. Active participation of urban and rural people periodically in community projects as equals and partners go a long way in bringing the existing gap between these groups. Voluntary contributions in cash and material (sampatidana), sharing of skills in educational, technical, medical and other fields (Buddhidana), donation of land for the landless (Bhoodana), are

all supplementary programmes centred round the technique of giving away the easiest one could part with - namely the shrama-physical and mental energy.

Fourthly, our world is a young world. It is a world of youth. Coming together from various parts of the world for organised community development projects centred round self-help opens up a new horizon for the youth of the world to meet, to plan for and to build a new world based on mutual respect, sharing and peace. As much as the Sarvodaya objective for the individual is his total development, for the villages their total awakening, for the nation total regeneration, so does it aim at a world free from hunger, disease, ignorance and fear.

With a little bit of cultural re-orientation these thoughts could be commonly shared by all youth both in developing, the developed and the decadent world. The third world I refer to as the decadent world consists of those countries and societies where with the advancement of science and technology, morality and spirituality have been lost sight of, and where the sensual satisfaction has been considered the end-factor of human life and existence. The youths have to experience and learn the fact that the whole world and much more are within their own minds and hearts and no human life is worth living if this inner man and treasures are not discovered and experienced. Personally I believe that no youth leadership training programme is complete if the youths are not made to understand the immense'soul force' which lies dormant in all of us. No development assistance partnership is lasting and effective if this human factor is ignored and lost sight of.

The very concept of the welfare of all - Sarvodaya -pre-supposes non-violence and co-operation as motivating factors. This is not the non-violence of the weak and indifferent. Neither is the co-operation that is preached by the privileged few on the exploited. Sarvodaya concept of non-violence is a very active and dynamic social weapon to fight against all forms of injustice and exploitation. No doubt construction activities such as cutting village roads, digging wells, building houses, lavatories and community halls, desilting and repairing of tanks and irrigation works etc., have great value for the community. But we cannot stop there. On the contrary these are not even the beginning of a

total revolution to build up man and society. If, however , these lead to a total change in the outlook of man both towards himself and towards others in the community and also lays the infrastructure that is necessary for a self-generating progressive society then we may be said to be on the right path. Otherwise we will only be scratching the surface and not attacking the problem at its roots. Landlessness on the part of the majority of our people, concentration of wealth in the hands of few while the most are poor, large scale unemployment and underemployment inequality of opportunities for all, rural exodus, bureaucratic hold on the farmers, disparity between rural and urban sectors, are some of the basic problems that have to be faced realistically. In our desire to do social service or charity in the form of providing some amenities for the needy, we should not forget the revolutionary aspect of the youth movement, where social foundations have to be relaid wherever necessary so that all people have equal chances and opportunities to manage their own affairs democratically and independently.

Now let me elaborate a little on the implementation aspects of these thoughts particularly with examples from our own country. I said, we as a voluntary organisation have accepted the Sarvodaya thought and this thought is translated into concrete action by Shramadana. By its very nature Shramadana does not require outside aid to begin its programmes. We begin with what we have and from where we are. We have no machines that the developed countries have; but we have plenty of excess and unused labour which, if only organised and mobilised as a productive force, can create sufficient wealth for our people to take them at least to the take-off point in economic development. On a voluntary basis we organise this 'shrama' (labour) for well-planned out rural development projects. And gifting of labour in the service of others is a meritorious deed according to our religious tradition.

You may wonder, how people, particularly the youth, are recruited to gift their labour in the service of their country and people. Well, that is an art you have to learn and a science that you have to master. Begin with yourself as a youth leader. Gather all your courage and place your wholeself in the service of your less fortunate fellow beings. If you do it selflessly there will be thousands to follow your example. If you don't do it then there

will be none to do it. We have quite a few selfless workers like this and it is they who set the pace for others. Have faith in the goodness of the human being and tap him at the right point. He will respond.

Once we have decided upon a community where we are going to help a series of Shramadana camps, may be camps for two days - three days - seven days - or even of a longer duration, have to be organised. In these camps a psychological oneness between the people of the community and the Shramadana workers from outside will have to be brought about. This depends on the degree to which the group can identify with and adopt themselves to the life and culture of the community, and thus win their confidence. Let us not have a patronising attitude. Let us not go with an idea to teach but always with a desire to learn from the community. Let us not superimpose our culture and our ways on them. On the contrary let us begin with theirs and changes will follow. Let us learn to understand and know the community fully.

People judge us by results and not by promises and sermons. Therefore the surest projects are those that can be completed with labour-for that is the major resource we have. Every locality has its own raw material which have served them for generations to satisfy their needs. Let us first make use of them with better scientific skill. Rather than working for the people let the people feel that we are working with them as partners in a great national cause.

A few days of camp life in the village, if properly organised, can bring about a successful initiation of a rural development project. Six to eight hours of manual work, 2 to 3 hours of study, discussions, planning, evaluation etc., 1 to 2 hours of recreation, half an hour of religious activity and common prayer etc., can give variety yet purpose to the camp. The idea is to involve the whole community in all stages of planning and implementation of projects.

Once the community involvement is satisfactorily brought about, specialised activities can be gradually introduced. But we should never lose sight of the fact that ours is an integrated approach to bring about an all round development in the community. Socio-economic family surveys, health and medical surveys, land utilization, adult education and literacy, child care

and maternity services, environmental sanitation, applied nutrition, food production etc., can be carefully introduced through skilled volunteers in those fields. Of course all these depend on how far the voluntary organisation itself is organised and is capable of getting the services of a cadre of trained and skilled workers.

If the voluntary organisation can prove its worth in the field of community organisation the services of government extension officers and institutions will be readily forthcoming. Without losing the freshness and the dynamism of the voluntary approach if governmental assistance and services could be channelled into this work with mutual understanding and agreement, I think, very effective results could be achieved. At least that is our experience. Voted expenditure of the government for rural development can be put to good use and the output may be many times multiplied if such a harmony can be achieved.

In Sri Lanka under the sponsorship of the School Youth Mobilisation Committee (whose Chairman is a Sarvodaya Shramadana Worker) of the National Freedom from Hunger Campaign, every year over half a million school youth are mobilised for weeding, transplanting and harvesting of paddy fields. This is an excellent example of a joint effort between a voluntary organisation and government.

I presume that you have grasped the spirit of what I have said. Finally let me conclude with one more example to complete my story. I said earlier that the future of our civilization depends on these rural communities. If they are helped to help themselves by pooling their labour for community projects they may go a step further. In my country in a village called Pubbiliya, the people decided to pool together their land resources also and work co-operatively. They have their Elders' Council, Youth Organisation, Women's Organisation etc., who play that leading role in programming for the village. One year ago they were the most backward community in that division. Today they are the most progressive and self-determining community. We from the outside have only to act as liaison between the village and central government and other assisting agencies. All assistance coming into the village is utilised to bring about increased production and not for charity or day to day consumption.

APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY IN THE SRI LANKA SITUATION

'Technology is only a means to an end. No sensible person will contest the need to eradicate poverty and hunger, the importance of providing the basic and essential needs of the population and of improving the standards of life by using technology. .. To the people of Sri Lanka cultural and spiritual development is still part of their total living pattern. What technology they select, therefore, should be appropriate to their total approach to life'

It is with a sense of oneness with all of you who are present here that I participate in the deliberations of this congress. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka which I represent here is closely associated with TOOL in its thinking about development strategies and with several grass-roots projects which are jointly carried out for the benefit of the poor in my country. In the development of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement the governmental and non-governmental organisations and the people of Netherlands have been most helpful to us. Above all the enlightened and progressive economic co-operation policies followed by the Government of the Netherlands in its relationship with the poor world is a source of strength to all of us who are trying to build up our societies on the principles of self-respect, self-help and self-reliance. All these factors make me feel one with you who are assembled here in the University of Nijmegen.

Science and technology is such a vast and complex subject that laymen like myself should not attempt to make simple generalisations on its application to human situations. However, I believe that like any other tool in the hands of the human being, science and technology also should be subject to the moral principles of human behaviour and control. When science and technology become amoral and take over the control of man in the same way as it does with any other thoughtless and senseless material objects then it has gone beyond its usefulness and needs

redirection. In highly advanced societies one has to ponder and see whether this critical stage has been reached, and if so, what corrective action should be taken to make science and technology continue to serve man and not to enslave him. On the other hand, in spite of their so called backwardness, the poorer countries still have a chance to learn from the mistakes of the rich countries in their applications of scientific knowledge and technological know-how to their own situations with a view to avoiding such imbalances. The theme of this congress, namely Appropriate Technology, has a relevance, not merely to developing countries but to humanity in general as well and such a discussion therefore is most appropriate to the times we are living in.

The elite in most newly independent countries made a costly mistake for their people by adopting the western model of development, education and technology. The conditions in our countries, apart from the prevalence of several centuries of a dependent psychological situation, were not conducive to unquestioned imitation of values. technologies and institutional forms from Western societies. Yet these values were imposed upon us by our ruling elite in blind imitation of the West. Most of those who took over the reins of government and policy making from the colonial powers were not an integral part of the culture, traditions and the mass of the people of our countries. In such a situation it was not surprising that the same sophisticated and capital intensive technologies were introduced to our countries in ignorance of the realities of our past civilisations, and the present rich human resources. The price we have had to pay in the form of mass poverty, unemployment, social and political unrest and dependency as a result of neglecting our own resourcefulness and potential is enormous. I believe that appropriate technology viewed from this position may well show us a way to the re-discovery of our own potential for creating a self-reliant social order, beginning from the re-discovery of man himself.

Sri Lanka has a well-preserved and recorded history of over 2500 years. Long before the scientific revolution of the West, the early periods of the Sri Lankan civilization were characterized by a highly advanced system of tank construction irrigation, agriculture and architecture, which would necessarily have required advanced scientific techniques in these fields at that

time. All these techniques were integrated with the life of the people so that man was not alienated from himself or his community. The social and political organisations always kept man at the centre so that his ultimate objective of attaining the highest possible cultural and spiritual levels was supported by the techno-economic system rather than hampered by it. This situation was completely reversed by the strategies adopted immediately after the second world war and the resulting technological tutelage which distorted our cultural milieu.

Foreign experts, the new missionaries in the post independence era were advocating high technology and capital intensive projects and industries as the panacea for the country's underdevelopment. A feverish modernisation programme started. Engineers, doctors, scientists and managers were trained abroad and their level of performance was to be maintained at the same high Western standards. Contracts were signed, loans were obtained, heavy machinery was imported, a few factories were put up and at the end of all this Sri Lanka also came into possession of what people now call several "islands of technological incongruity". They never got integrated into the total pattern of life of the farmer or villager or the community as a whole.

Technology is only a means to an end. No sensible person will contest the need to eradicate poverty and hunger, the importance of providing the basic and essential needs.of the population and of improving their standard of life by using technology. But all sensible people should seriously think of the human cost of artificially creating endless material wants and of the craze for directing all our resources and know-how to increasingly satisfying these wants. A purely materialistic approach to life will not take us to increased happiness or to the joy of living. Human life is meant for and is capable of higher achievements in other more satisfying fields as well. To the people of Sri Lanka cultural and spiritual development is still part of their total living pattern. What technology they select, therefore, should be appropriate to their total approach to life.

Some people misunderstand our total approach to life and think that we are anti-scientific and opposed to material advancement. They say we are trying to put the clock back. This is a misconception. There is clear evidence both in Buddhist and

Hindu teachings of the importance of having a sound economic base for the progress of a society. The difference lies in our different approaches to economic development and end purposes. Lord Buddha in His Noble Eight-fold Path leading to perfect enlightenment has included Right Livelihood as its fifth factor. In one of His discourses Lord Buddha mentions the four characteristics of a right approach to economic action, namely , (i) diligence in efficient productive activity, (ii) preservation of what is produced and conservation of nature, (iii) the right social milieu in which one should work, and (iv) a balanced approach to consumption.

The first factor brings to the participant (i) the joy of personality awakening through constructive and creative labour, (ii) harmonious social integration by working as a member of a group and (iii) satisfaction of the needs of life through productive work. In this economic philosophy there is an in-built motivation for self- aggrandizement that activates both the employee and the employer. Instead of productive work debasing their human relationships, they are lifted up to higher human levels and relationships. There is no alienation of the human being from his essential self or his work.

Similarly consideration is given to ecological factors, to psychological and social equilibrium and to limits of consumption in this economic philosophy. In short we have our own indigenous thinking about economics and development and the type of technology we choose, evolve and develop may well add a new dimension to the experience the rich countries have gained. To together we can learn from our experiences and develop a new techno-economic base built on non-exploitation, on sharing, equality and respect for one another. Advanced technology has failed to do it. Can appropriate technology by its freshness of approach achieve it?

Please, permit me to caution you on just one of several pit-falls we might have to avoid in developing appropriate technology. We are living in an era of liberation. When oppressed people wake up, the oppressors also hasten to play the role of liberators. When people demand participation in decision-making the bureaucratic establishments are the first to support the cry and 'people's participation becomes another jargon in their development

vocabulary. The so-called first and second development decades of the United Nations' bureaucracy provided the people of the world proof of tons and tons of such manipulative jargon without much concrete benefit to the people themselves.

Appropriate or Relevant or Intermediate Technology with Dr. E.F. Schumacher as its prophet may draw many disciples from among the privileged both in the rich and the poor world. There is nothing surprising in this trend as it is the way things do happen. However, if Appropriate Technology becomes a preserve of the few and if it turns out to be another elitist exercise to which the poor have no access, all your endeavours will end in disappointment and frustration. Therefore I strongly believe that all Appropriate Technology programmes should be directly related to concrete grass-root development action. The beneficiaries should have direct access from the problem - identification stage to the problem-solving experience, so that the programme becomes their own.

Let me illustrate this. When I first met a TOOL representative I brought him face to face with a group of unsophisticated youth, who were trying to irrigate their dry zone land.

Together they studied the problem and within seventy two hours they had their first crude windmill turning and lifting water to their rice fields. A shared psychological situation, a shared social milieu, a shared concern and a shared joy of achievement brought them together in a long term partnership of true liberation through co-operation. They established a firm partnership between the Sarvodaya and TOOL movements. This type of action- based man to man relationship can prevent Appropriate Technology becoming a mere fashion of the times. It can help to develop a sound people's movement raising productive levels and quality of life.

This example brings out a clear difference between the two approaches - the monolithic advanced technological approach and the appropriate technology approach. The latter has to work with people mostly, less with systems. Hence the practitioners of Appropriate Technology have to develop a humanistic philosophy and an inward vision within their own personalities. As Appropriate Technology by its very definition has to be different from country to country and even from one place and another in

the same country it will not have the omnipresent mechanistic uniformity that characterises a vested interest such as technocratism. Therefore the binding universal feature of appropriate technology is a sound system of human values or what you may call a humanistic philosophy.

Sarvodaya is such a humanistic philosophy. The word Sarvodaya means the concept of the awakening of all -- the well being of all or respect for all life. When one accepts this idea as the centre of his or her philosophy of life, invariably such a person is motivated into sharing his or her time, thought and energy (Shramadana) to remove the cause that brings about suffering in others. When as a result of one's efforts the less fortunate. especially the most deprived in a society, become free and happy, that in turn brings about a detached joy in such a person. A life dedicated to earning that joy of service becomes a life of psychological equanimity and peace and is unshaken by the vicissitudes of life. Through such persons a non-violent but total revolution can be generated involving hundreds and thousands of willing hands to work for self-development. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka has successfully shown how a thousand villages could be awakened to their own potential through such motivated individuals. The movement has out of its experience over years of work with thousands of people developed very precise and logical techniques of social change linking the traditional with the most modern. Without destroying the existing social tissue it seeks to implant the most socially appropriate, scientific and technological advances in response to the hopes and aspirations of the people whom it seeks to serve.

In the Sarvodaya Village Development Scheme in Sri Lanka, before we introduce technology, we seek to lay down three levels of infrastructure.

Firstly, a psychological infrastructure making individuals aware of the causes of their poverty and possible solutions.

Secondly, and social infrastructure, organising the people for mass action to solve their own problems and demonstrating the effectiveness of mass activity, organising camps in which the participants from within and outside villages (quite often from foreign countries too) gift their labour (Shramadana) for providing a basic utility in the village by the construction of access roads, a

water reservoir, a school or a community hall.

Next, based on these experiences the social structures such as pre-school children's groups, school-going children's groups, out of-school youth groups, Farmers' groups and mothers' groups are organised using the village leadership which emerges during these exercises.

Thirdly, an improved physical infra-structure is created in the form of roads, water supply facilities, meeting places etc.

These three stages are followed by training programmes for selected youth both for community leadership and for the acquisition of appropriate technological skills conducted in Sarvodaya Development Education and Training Institutes. The training itself is not formal or rigid. It is a process of learning together by problem identification and finding solutions. By such participation training four main objectives for rural appropriate technology have been evolved:

1. To discover, organise and up-grade the available knowledge and know -how in the villages.
2. To develop and utilize to the maximum all individual talent and labour for co-operative effort.
3. To concentrate on goods and services beneficial to the community, and
4. To protect and conserve the resources and the environment.

With these guide-lines it is possible for the trained youth to choose innovations most suitable for a particular situation. On their own return to villages and with the assistance of elders and other members of the community, they formulate a total plan for village development. This plan would embody not only industrial and agricultural projects but also such factors as nutritional supplementation to correct diet deficiencies, pre-school and medical care as well as long-term plans for ensuring economic and social security for participant youth. To supplement the asset of labour they possess capital requirements have to be provided for them. For this purpose we have organised a revolving fund. At this stage every attempt is made not only to couple the grass-root development plan to those of governmental regional plans but also to utilize the services and institutions of government for its

implementation.

I give this experience to you to illustrate one strategy that could be used to bring appropriate technology direct to the people with their own initiative and as suited to their own situation. On this grass-roots foundation appropriate industrial techniques and systems to make the fullest use of human resources and to make them most productive with material resources available in the country can be developed. In Sri Lanka suitable institutional structures such as Divisional Development Councils. Agricultural Productivity Committees and Self- help Housing Societies are also being developed by the government as safeguards against abuse by vested interests. It may well be that with correct political leadership and social consciousness on the part of people, a country like Sri Lanka can develop Appropriate Technology as an important part of the national strategy for development.

As the Appropriate Technology concept is new and is just getting off the ground it has its own advantages and difficulties. The advantage of beginning with the involvement of the poorest and neediest in developing countries should be foremost in our minds. However, the political and economic dimensions of an expanding Appropriate Technology Movement both at national and international levels should not be forgotten.

The public and the governments is our countries have to be more and more enlightened about our approach by pragmatic programmes. In place of high level, costly experts, concerned and motivated mid-level scholars and students from universities and technical institutes and other skilled people who can live with common people should be facilitated to work in developing countries and together with them so evolve programmes for development.

New concepts and strategies for research have to be developed. In short a vast untapped area of thinking and action lies ahead of us. I believe that this congress will give all of us encouragement and hope to accept the challenges of this much needed task for the benefit of humanity.

SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA MOVEMENT TOWARDS A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE FROM A RURAL EXPERIENCE

'What I am trying to stress is that in this highly evolved state of a living being called 'human', there is a potential to free the mind from narrow barriers of family, race, colour, religion, national borders and fragmented ideologies. But although it may be easy to think in terms of the one-ness of humanity, it is very difficult to transform this thought into an egalitarian socio-economic world system where world resources are shared in such a manner that nobody is left in want of basic human needs'

Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is now in its Twenty First year. As a person who was deeply involved with the Movement from its inception, or may be even before that when the whole concept was only germinating in our minds, it is extremely difficult to look back dispassionately and see how a village-based experience gradually took shape, developing itself into a Movement worthy of discussion by an eminent international group like you who are present here. It is even more difficult to project this experience into the future and formulate hypothesis, such as how for example, the basic tenets of Sarvodaya would stand up to the test of a fast industrializing world where even the literal meaning of words that denote spiritual and cultural experiences have become unintelligible to most people, or how the Movement can bridge an ever-widening psychological and intellectual gap between a minority of post-industrial communities and a vast majority of more or less below subsistence level communities in our world. When one thinks of the myriads of social theories political ideologies, economic alternatives and cultural diversities, the problem of placing Sarvodaya in a pragmatic perspective becomes still more difficult. So my contribution to our deliberations on this important subject of 'Sarvodaya and World Development' had to be made within these limitations.

Let me first deal with some conceptional elements of the subject of Sarvodaya as developed by us in Sri Lanka. We aimed at the achievement of four objectives. Firstly, that every individual participating as a subject or object in the Sarvodaya Movement should benefit by being positively influenced to strive to awaken his or her own personality to the fullest.

Secondly, a process of group awakening in as many places as possible in our country whether they are at family level, village level, institutional level or city level should take place. Thirdly, the impact of the awakening processes of the individuals and groups should find concrete form at national levels so that a process of thinking in terms of the well-being of the whole world could be liberated among the people in general. Fourthly, these forces should generate forms of thinking and action processes at the world level. These objectives we named Purna Paurushodaya, Gramodaya, Deshodaya and Vishvodaya respectively.

These four objectives do not develop separately, though superficially it may appear that there is a great distance created by time and space in integrating them into one total process. In actual fact each of the four objectives has a direct relevance to the achievement of the three other objectives. For example a Sarvodaya worker made to think and act in terms of the well-being of all is at the same time a person promoting not only Paurushodaya, that is his own personality awakening, but also Gramodaya Village or Group Awakening, Deshodaya - National Awakening and Vishvodaya - World Awakening. The advancement of communication systems in the modern world is such that two individuals embracing this thought on opposite sides of our planet cannot but come to know each other in spite of man made ideological barriers. This is exactly what was taking place today at this meeting where we too who did not know one another two decades ago, have come together at a common forum. But if we look back into our own lives all of us, long before we came to know Sarvodaya or any other universal welfare movement, we have had the germ of oneness of humanity in our minds for a long, long time. What Sarvodaya offered us was only an opportunity for that thought that was germinating in our minds to take a concrete form of meaningful action. What I am trying to stress is in that highly evolved state of a living being called 'human', there is a

potential to free the mind from narrow barriers of family, race, colour, religion, national borders and fragmented ideologies. But although it may be easy to think in terms of the oneness of humanity, it is very difficult to transform this thought into an egalitarian socio-economic world system where world resources are shared in such a manner that nobody is left in want of basic human needs. The hope for the world lies not in building a rationale which is purely materialistic but in finding a middle way where both material and mental factors are given equal weight and in this there is a possibility of narrowing the gap - both material and psychological - between the people of the world.

When in remote villages of Sri Lanka people get together for a family gathering they spend a few minutes in silent meditation. The central core of this meditation is a striving for the realisation of the oneness of all lives. This is in contradiction to the psychological tendency that is generally found in commercial civilizations where self-assertion is upper-most in the minds of those who are influenced by them. Is this attitude of self-denial practised in Sarvodaya villages a deterrent to self-development, socially and economically, or can it be developed in such a way that this same attitude could be a positive factor in bringing about group self-development without the evils of competitive materialism which has brought about so much unhappiness in the industrial societies of the world?

It is proven beyond doubt that the world resources are not sufficient to give every family in the world a standard of living comparable to an average family living in a rich country. So the question is whether the standards accepted as necessary by the rich societies are compatible with what poorer societies may consider as necessary standards for total fulfillment of life. Anyway what is total fulfillment? Is it only the accumulation and utilization of a never ending list of material objects, the search for immediate gratification of wants and desires, or is there something more to life than all this gadgetry produced by a commercial civilization? It is in this context that in the Buddhist philosophy, personality awakening of an individual is consummated in the final attainment of Arahanthood which is an unconditioned state of being which will not cause the arising of craving that brings about birth, decay and death. Socio- economic and spirituo-cultural needs have to be

met only with a view to finally attaining the goal of deathlessness.

In a non - Buddhistic culture can we find a similar motivational force which can liberate the human being from the forces of materialism? This is a question to which those societies have to find an answer sooner or later.

All standards on every issue affecting human welfare and progress have been laid down by the dominant materialistic cultures - be it the individualistic variety of the capitalist societies or the collective variety of the socialist societies. The effective force that gives them power to set standards on the rest of the peoples of the world is the supremacy that they have achieved by mastering the science of controlling matter and the art of controlling the mind. The tragedy is that the human being is no longer the master of these sciences and arts, but a sad victim of their self-perpetuating structures and organisations. The polarization between rich countries and poor countries, or between rich societies and poor societies within the same countries, is primarily a crisis of the human mind itself, which is subjected to a hopeless enslavement to the same structures.

The ineffective results achieved by UNCTAD so far are a pointer to this fact. However, good the intentions, man's propositions can be thwarted by the god of materialistic dominance, The equalization of the riches of the world among the entire human family will always remain a dream unless a re-awakening of the inner man, irrespective of the society to which he belongs, takes place. While violent and non-violent attempts at structural re-arrangements in the societies of the world will continue to be tried out by various groups, in my opinion, there is a crying need in the unexplored field of directly reaching the individual and the small group, which Sarvodaya should venture into.

This should not hastily take us into the other extreme of spirituo-cultural liberation, out of context with socioeconomic realities. Strategies have to be discovered and tried out to find how both elements could be integrated into a silent revolution motivated by great compassion towards all life-man, beast and plant.

It may appear that it is a hopeless task and a wasteful effort to

appeal, in our complex societies, directly to the individuals and small groups but Sarvodaya experience during the last ten years has demonstrated that a consistent effort on our part to liberate ourselves from our greed, hatred and ignorance through a social action programme whose usefulness goes beyond self-interest can generate a hopeful force in the right direction. Further we have to have the conviction that all societies rich or poor have become in the modern context of the world, fertile ground for a liberating force of this nature.

We have no general prescription to give to other societies of which we have hardly an experience or insight. On the other hand the communities with which we do have personal involvement have responded to such an approach. Does this mean that we are on the verge of a major breakthrough into a new strategy in world development, by -passing the super-structures over which no single human being has control today? Does this bring us back to the Buddhist teaching 'What is the use of conquering the whole world if one cannot conquer oneself? Can the Sarvodaya Movement be a loose collection of individuals and small groups who are not conquerors of the world but conquerors of self?

We are not alone in this new way of thinking. It has become a fashion in the world today to talk in terms of human-being-centered development. The target of development should be the human being. All development efforts would be man centered. All development should have people's participation at all levels. Development should relate itself to cultural and spiritual values. Techniques adopted should be appropriate to the particular situations. Development should take place from the grass-roots up and not vice versa This is the form of responsible language that is being spoken by planners and development thinkers all over the world today. But this latest development vocabulary will remain only the self- satisfying jargon of distant technocrats unless a deeper spirituo-cultural and socio-economic meaning is given to them.

Dr. James P. Grant's team at the Overseas Development Council in Washington has developed what is now popularly known as PQLI-Physical Quality of Life Index. This is a step in the right direction but we cannot stop with that. We should develop an index to measure spirituo-cultural quality of life as well.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka has geared its entire programme towards the identification and satisfaction of Ten Basic Human Needs of the Communities who have embraced its philosophy. This is a direct attempt to evolve such a total concept, programme and measuring process.

The Ten Basic Human Needs envisaged by Sarvodaya are:

1. A clean and beautiful environment including a psychological infrastructure.
2. A safe and adequate supply of water.
3. Basic requirements of clothing.
4. A regular balanced diet.
5. A simple abode.
6. Basic Health Care Services.
7. Transport and Communication facilities.
8. Fuel.
9. Continuing education for all, and
10. Cultural and spiritual development.

These Ten Basic Human Needs have been sub-divided into 165 sub-needs. Five processes to understanding the problem by the people themselves, fourteen forms of organisational structures at the base, twelve forms of physical infrastructures and sixteen forms of collective action programmes to satisfy these basic needs make the total picture of the Sarvodaya action at the grassroots.

In this list, the traditional economist and the planner claiming modernity will surely miss two important aspects that keep them occupied. These are employment and income. They will also be surprised that education not only embraces a total life process but a whole cycle of lives-births and deaths -finally aiming at a state of deathlessness or non-birth. In the tenth Basic Human Need in the list we have the spiritual and cultural needs of life mentioned. Is it possible for the socio-metric sciences and econo-metric sciences to help us by giving us an instrument to measure these as an integral part of the total development process? Or on the other hand is it possible to develop a culture - metric and spiritual measure of economic and social needs? We have gone so far into the development of impersonal and objective physical measurements of the quality of life. Can we now explore the field of spiritual and cultural qualities of life with the same

impersonality and objectivity? If we cannot develop such a measure then we are left with no alternative but to 'turn the search light inwards' as stated by His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene when he bade good-bye to the National State Assembly to assume the first elected Presidentship with executive power of the Republic of Sri Lanka.

If physical and Social Sciences cannot accept this challenge or in the alternative organised religion and culture also cannot accept this challenge then I would say they have outlived their usefulness in the context of the vast majority of people in this world.

Sarvodaya workers will always stress the process of 'Total Reawakening' which is the final objective of the direct approach they are making to satisfy the basic human needs. There is no giver or receiver. All are sharers. The satisfaction of the physical need of one would be a satisfaction of a spiritual need of another. This enables us to liberate ourselves from the craze for complexities and revert to simplicities which are closer to the joy of real living.

Let me throw a little more light on this issue. In the middle path doctrine of Lord Buddha, both Right Livelihood and Right Concentration are integral parts of the noble Eight-fold Path. Here there is a continuity between the realities of existing state of life and the highest states one can strive for both physically and mentally. In the Maha Mangala Suthra, Environmental factor, Karmic Hereditary factor and the Self-mastering Mind factor are mentioned as three auspicious factors that go into the making of a total awakening personality. In Vyaggapajja Suthra efficiency in production, protective measures for what is produced, social environment in which production takes place and balanced consumption patterns are mentioned as essential components of a good economic system. Therefore, in spiritual teachings essential socio-economic factors are always embodied. Why is it not possible for the economic and social sciences also to have a spiritual essence in their theories and practices?

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka is not a fountain source from which development wisdom flows in all directions. On the other hand it is one of those springs in human society that has sprung up from a deep-rooted culture. All societies have these refreshing fountains. We have to motivate and inspire

people of those cultures to look for those fountains rather than attempt to lay inter-continental pipe lines to take the holy water from here. We have no such arrogance as exporters of cultures or ways of living. But we certainly can share to the benefit of all of us that innate goodness which we all possess from wherever we come. Sarvodaya strongly believes that one day all these springs in all parts of the world will flow themselves into one single ocean which would have unidentifiably mixed waters of human wisdom and compassion.

Now let me very briefly re-capitulate two decades of our experiences from the village to the world.

We started with one village. Then we tried to respond to calls from several other villages. The idea of extension came to our minds almost involuntarily. We extended our work to a hundred villages and the famous Hundred Village Development Scheme of the late nineteen sixties became our key expression. We were very clever at infrastructure building. We succeeded in psychological infrastructural work such as unifying the minds and hearts of people and physical infrastructural work such as linking a village to a city by a ten mile motorable road. We did not stop with that. Still further we expanded to a 1,000 villages and today we have gone beyond 2,000 villages which have received the Sarvodaya message and experienced at least one of our basic activities.

This of course is not a mean achievement. Many friends of Sarvodaya who were genuinely interested in us cautioned us against this expansion. We remained a popular Movement, but we realized at the beginning of the second decade itself, the conceptual contradiction we were developing by the extension approach we were voluntarily following.

Promptly we corrected ourselves. What was necessary was not extension but awakening. There is a potential in individuals and groups to grasp the practical programmes we were advocating to translate the four 'Brahma Viharas' (Mettā, Karunā Muditā and Upekkā) to personality awakening action and four 'Sathara Sangraha Vasthus' (Dana, Priya-vachana, Artha-charya and Samanathmatha) to awaken the group. In societies like ours where centuries of foreign domination prevailed we could not help

being looked upon by the poorest of the poor with whom we were working as a new form of elite or liberator. Naturally they had to identify a leadership and rush to them not only for inspiration and guidance but also material support. We had to be realistic on one hand but on the other hand to fight within ourselves all the time against the human tendency of falling a prey to our own self-importance. Some of us fall by the wayside when we do not possess enough spiritual energy to retain our humility in spite of recognition we are receiving. Our affinity to the philosophy and principles of the Movement as well as our usefulness to the Movement is inversely proportional to the self-importance we develop within ourselves while helping the Movement to grow. This danger will always be there, haunting everyone of us who are dedicated Sarvodaya workers.

The subject of leadership has to be dealt with very delicately. This is one of those subjects where generalizations have to be attempted very carefully. Leadership is not an end in itself. It is a response to a real need demanded by a particular environment at a particular point of time. Whether the leadership should be of a person or a group of persons or whether the leadership is necessary at all, will be determined by a variety of factors including time and environment. It is extremely difficult for the followers to set down criteria for leaders wherever a leadership is present. In the same way from a successful leadership more than the leader himself it is the following that reap the benefit. On the other hand in case of wrong leadership it is the leadership that suffers most and not the following if his leadership fails. That is why in Buddha's philosophy a leader was always idealized as one following ten codes of conduct leading to supreme perfection called the state of Buddhahood.

In the Sarvodaya Movement the leadership would not claim that they are following the Bodhisatva* ideal. But at the same time it should be mentioned that certainly that ideal is an inspirational source we have inherited from our culture.

The objective of Sarvodaya is to develop thousands of leaders working in harmony with one another in all parts of the country. That is why from childhood to the age of elders a variety of

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* *Bodhisatva is an aspirant to Buddhahood.*

programmes have been developed for leaders to emerge inculcating a value system in them accepted by our society as righteous. The ultimate ideal of Sarvodaya being a self-governing family of villages with appropriate political and economic co-ordination among them based on non-exploitation and co-operation the emergence of such a leadership is a sine-qua-non.

In the group situation such as the village whether it is in Sri Lanka or in another country such as the Netherlands, Belgium or Canada, again this same deviation from our original principles can take place. Instead of individual self-importance, group self-importance can also breed. This will lead to disintegration of groups which have begun with great initial altruism. Disillusionment, frustration and factionalism can follow. As groups we have to guard against this tendency also at a group level.

For psychological reasons an individual or a group can take to Sarvodaya. There is no harm in it as long as the main stream of the workers are of a sound spiritual mind. On the other hand if the very essence of the Movement is lost by a predomination of psychological imbalances, then of course, the group has used tolerance to the point of annihilation of an essential social force. It is here that compassionate leadership has to exert itself even though democratic values and group leadership are most essential elements in any worthwhile social Movement. You may interpret these words as a reference to my own mental make-up. I do not mind risking that impression. As a human being I may undergo humiliation or oppression as long as it does not affect the Movement. But this spiritual quality I may have to compromise if such adverse phenomena affect the very existence of the Movement which I am convinced is doing so much for so many.

This is where careful decisions have to be made from a total mental perspective of patiently trying to understand the purity of the individual, the dynamism of the Movement and the organisational base from which the Movement gets its outer form as integrated factors of a total process.

I have said that it is a very patient and long journey we have to make from personality awakening to group awakening. You have to fight the deeds and not the doers, according to our ethical code.

This is not an easy task. All those who dedicate themselves for Sarvodaya and play a significant role in a group have to decide for themselves how problems of a psychological and organisational nature have to be handled as the Movement grows without killing its dynamism and non-conformist nature.

Social infrastructure work is comparatively easy. One has to understand the general needs of the people, realize the specific needs, learn the art of group involvement and implement the programmes scientifically. Most of the critics of Sarvodaya excel in analysing and evaluating this training aspect of our programme. It is not difficult to make training programmes in leadership more effective than they are today and no doubt we have to do it. Doing this for one village or 100 villages is easy enough. But even if we build a model of 100 villages I do not believe it will in any way change our country's situation, if in building models, our energy is totally absorbed exclusively in that process. On the other hand expediency demands that even at the risk of not attaining excellence in training it is of greater value to influence the whole society even at a minimal acceptable level. This was the type of situation that we faced during the last decade.

Let me elaborate a little more on this. The Sarvodaya Movement is not working in a social vacuum where no other forces are acting. We too operate our programmes in a highly politicized and complex social situation. For reasons of survival and to create a social climate our qualitative strength is supplemented by a quantitative force also. I confess that we have gambled with a strategy and that it is nothing but an attempt to meet a realistic situation.

The same factors could be mentioned when referring to the economic infrastructures we have been trying to build. Even in the international programmes like Village Links and Youth Exchange Programmes or even in trade these these same factors affected our thinking.

In spite of our apparent weaknesses and many failures we have succeeded in focussing the attention of the nation as a whole on what we have been struggling to do. We have exposed ourselves unreservedly and sometimes unashamedly to the nation and the world. All those who have no vested interests have come to accept our integrity and even others respect for our views.

We attempt to co-ordinate the activities going on in villages at an electoral level. This brings into our Movement a new dimension. Many enlightened political leaders and administrative leaders along with social leaders have been brought into a harmonious relationship with us for the greater good of the people whose well-being we commonly share. Our friends warn us of the dangers that may fall on the Movement by working closely with political leaders. This of course, will be determined by the moral strength which the Sarvodaya leadership can command by their own precept and example. A Movement dedicated to bring about a dual revolution, one within those who compose it, and the other in the society in which they live, will always have to face a dual risk.

Completion of two decades of a serious community awakening process deserves the Movement's entry into the national re-awakening stage. Active participation in Sarvodaya programmes recently of political leaders, policy makers and administrators of development and welfare programmes of our country is a pointer to the bigger and bigger national role we have to play. The active participation of two Prime Ministers and the first elected Executive President of the Republic of Sri Lanka in important Sarvodaya events has further established the bona fides of the Movement in the minds of the people.

Sarvodaya does not consider that confrontation is the only path to progress. On the other hand conformity with the existing order is also not the Sarvodaya way. When some aspects of the established order conforms with the righteous principles of the Movement, the Movement co-operates with those aspects of the establishment. When it becomes unrighteous, in those areas of unrighteousness, the Movement has to confront them. In between these two extremes there is a vast area of activities pertaining to human well-being and social change which we should not forget. The wider this area of agreement, the greater can be the degree of co-operation of a non-violent Movement with government. If a people's Movement because of its integrity and record of service and adherence to an acceptable code of ethics can command the respect of the government such a Movement can accelerate the non-violent social change considerably. Of course if the political leadership of the nation is wielding power for the sake of power

then this area of co-operation becomes very narrow. At this moment both the President and the Prime Minister of our country were motivated by a deep spiritual understanding of the Movement when they publicly declared that, 'the government which is trying to establish a righteous society by using political power and the Sarvodaya Movement which is also trying to establish a righteous society working directly with the people can march hand in hand in the service of humanity.' Therefore, it is not an illusory relationship but a deeper spirituo-cultural relationship that can lead to a harmonious working relationship in times to come.

This has brought us to a point where we must re-assess our past programmes and develop future possibilities. But our aims and objectives of total awakening of man and society remain unchanged.

It is at this juncture that we are holding the first International Conference of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. The contributions that will be made by our brothers and sisters who are present here will guide us a great deal in programming for our tasks ahead. The subject we are discussing is 'Sarvodaya and World Development.' We can talk about disarmament, trade policies, transfer of technology, re-distributing of world resources etc., etc., etc. At the end of such discussions and exchange of ideas and information we may come back to the same point from where we started. But on the other hand if we realise that the awakening of a man as a human being within a family, the awakening of the family in a village or urban group situation, the awakening of the village in a national situation, and the awakening of the nation in a world situation, can happen simultaneously, then our approach would be different in the sense that we are the masters of what we ourselves have decided to do. Now the question is what are we going to do? I pose this question to this enlightened fellow servants of humanity.

THE COUNTRY'S CRYING NEED

'Nations and the world itself, are composed of families, groups, villages and towns. So too, nations and the world itself must develop simultaneously and harmoniously in all directions. The best way this potential can be realised is by the harmonious development of all'

The world today is the cock-pit of many warring ideologies, political doctrines, different faiths and the struggle for economic prosperity. Sri Lanka is no exception.

All these conflicts result in a state of seething unrest and violence. While we are shocked at the colour bar in the United States we tolerate an equally hideous caste set-up. Though we are dismayed at the totalitarian tendencies of communist states, we have among us a similar system of oppression arising out of the struggle for power, the greed for wealth and attempts to force down one's point of view, be it in politics, religion or a way of life, on others. And where there is compulsion it naturally follows that some people, often the vast majority, are unhappy and dissatisfied. We are plagued by the myriad ills of unemployment, under nourishment, lack of housing, clothing and shelter and the bare amenities of life. In addition to these material ills our society is faced with a wide-spread lack of recognition of the efficacy of spiritual and moral values in bringing about a well organised community life. So far party and power politics have failed to solve any one of these problems despite the grandiloquent and pious sayings of politicians at election time and afterwards.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is based on Truth, Non-violence and Self-denial. It is the exact opposite of party and power politics and organised religion in that it has no barriers of any sort whatsoever. It aims at the attainment of utmost happiness through doing good without expectation of reward. Anyone, whatever his income, his religion, his caste or race, can give of his best in those talents with which he is most qualified to serve. There is no rigid leadership in the Movement. Everyone serves as

an equal in the enterprise. The very nature of the difficulties that face our country gives ample scope for useful and productive activity.

Sri Lanka faces grave dangers today on account of the many evils that permeate our society. The chief among these evils are:

1. The loss of faith the individual has suffered in himself or herself as a result of the impact of modern society.
2. A life based upon a reliance on the less worthwhile goals such as acquisition and possession of material wealth, power, position and status and the over indulgence that is practical in the pleasures of the senses.
3. The adoption of anti-social and immoral means such as violence, deception, competition, corruption and exploitation in order to achieve these goals.
4. The disintegration suffered by society by such divisive considerations as caste. class, creed, race and party politics.
5. The maldistribution and improper utilisation of the factors of production viz. land, labour, capital, organization and human resources and the resulting failure to achieve the maximum welfare of one and all in a society whose population is increasing rapidly.
6 The complete faith that is placed in the efficacy of large scale organisation in the field of politics, finance, commerce and industry.
7. Excessive dependence that is placed on an export-import economy based on cash crops instead of on the more sound economy of self-sufficiency.
8. The subservience of the village to the city or town.
9. The failure to evoke the inherent strength the people have to solve their problems without depending entirely on state assistance.
10. Relying too much on the ability of the politician and the administrator to solve both material and spiritual problems of society.
11. Failure on the part of our leadership to understand that in the performance of their public duties they themselves have to

obey the very moral laws which are recognised to be applicable to the individual.

12. Lack of an integrated and coherent plan of national development giving every individual a place in its formulation and implementation.

Like the germs of a terrible disease attacking the body of a helpless victim these evils have eaten into the very fabric of our society. A drastic change is called for to remedy these ills and any delay will result in untold damage being done to the nation.

Our effort is to harness the inherent talents and resources available and lying unavailed of in our country, for the good of the community.

The Basis of Our Solution

A solution to these problems, we believe, is possible only through a proper consideration of the following principles:-

1. Truth, Non-violence and Self denial to be the corner-stone of all human endeavour.
2. The means adopted in effecting this change to be as pure as the end itself. We do not agree that the end justifies the means.
3. Proper harmonisation of the two disciplines of science and religion and the contribution of science is aimed at.
4. The direction of society so as to bring about the full bloom of the potentialities of the individual through co-operative activity.
5. Acceptance of a common national philosophy not inconsistent with universal welfare. A good citizen of a country is a good citizen of the world.

One need not go very far to understand that it is not at all possible for an agency like the state alone to create a suitable mental and psychological atmosphere to bring about this fundamental change. With all its bureaucratic limitations and political expediencies the State is hardly in a position to assume full responsibility for a task of this magnitude. It has to be evolved from the hearts and minds of the people who are prepared to dedicate their lives for this cause, which calls for immense personal sacrifice. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri

Lanka makes a sincere and bold attempt to create the necessary atmosphere to bring together such individuals with an unwavering faith in the Welfare of All-SARVODAYA.

The Basic Tenets of Sarvodaya Philosophy

- One who knows can learn more, there is no one who knows nothing.
- One who does much evil today can do less tomorrow. There is no one who is always evil.
- One who thinks a little can think more deeply. There is no one who does not think.
- One who shares of the fruits of the earth is small. Increase it.
- One who is bound by possessions can loosen the bonds of attachments.
- One who thinks of self, can become selfless.

In all there is the possibility of progress, on one is worthless.

Everyone has the potential to develop his or her personality to the fullest.

Families, groups, villages and towns are composed of individuals, So too, families, groups, villages and towns have the potential for all-round development.

Nations and the world itself, are composed of families, groups, villages and towns. So too, nations and the world itself have the potential for all-round development.

The existence of this potential for all-round development is the first tenet of the philosophy.

Knowledge, virtue, wisdom, detachment from possessions, selflessness and other qualities are possessed in varying amounts by all.

All these qualities have a potential and given an opportunity they can develop individually or as a group.

If only one quality was cultivated there would be an imbalance.

The gain to the individual would be small. The development of

each quality depends upon every other one. If all the qualities are improved a little, then the individual would gain more.

Just as a child's legs, fingers, ears, in fact all the parts of the body, grow together into a man, so too a man's potential must develop harmoniously in all directions.

When a balloon is blown up all the parts of the skin must stretch together or else the balloon will be distorted. So too, all of man's qualities must be developed together.

Families, groups, villages and towns are composed of individuals. So too, the potential of families, groups, villages and towns must develop simultaneously and harmoniously in all directions.

Nations and the world itself, are composed of families, groups, villages and towns. So too, nations and the world itself must develop simultaneously and harmoniously in all directions.

That the best way this potential can be realised is by the harmonious development of all, is the second tenet of the philosophy.

One can more easily learn when with those who are learning.

One can more easily be virtuous when with those who strive to be virtuous.

One can more easily think when with those who are thinking.

One can more easily prosper when with those who are practising detachment.

One can more easily be selfless when with those who strive to be selfless.

One reads the thoughts of others and is influenced by them.

One hears the music of others and gains pleasure from it.

One sees the work of artists and is stimulated by it.

One uses the product of others' labour and life is made more convenient by it.

The life-giving environment of a fish is water. It supplies a fish with all it requires. Man's environment is other men and their

work. A fish living in impure water does not develop its potential to the full. So too, a man living in an environment contaminated with hatred, violence, distrust, competition and selfishness does not develop his potential to the full.

A fish living in pure water can develop its potential to the full. So too, *a man living in an environment filled with compassion, non-violence, mutual trust, co-operation and selflessness can develop his potential to the full.*

The one's development can be realised in such an environment is the third tenet of the philosophy.

Some thoughts on the Basic Tenets

Until very recently problems in technology had to be solved by taking each aspect of the question in turn and tackling it in isolation. With the advent of sophisticated data handling systems it has become possible to measure, record and process a large number of simultaneous aspects of the same problem.

The second tenet is a statement of confidence in this approach. The Sarvodaya worker does not try to solve problems one by one, he tries to solve them all at once. He does not view man as a father; then as a worker, then as a member of a club, then a member of a village, taking each aspect of him separately. Instead he tries to see him under all aspects simultaneously, as a total personality. In the same way he sees society as a whole, not merely as a collection of individual groupings.

The Sarvodaya worker does not work for a society directed towards the provision of the greatest good for the greatest number. He works for the welfare of all and a society which will attain the greatest good as a whole. This is a nice distinction but an important one. A society set up so that only some of its members could develop individually their potential to the fullest would be a competitive society, since some must progress at the expense of others.

Society is made up of individuals. For society as a whole to develop to the maximum, there must be harmony in the development of its members. Some may hold back to allow others to develop more fully, thus allowing a more efficient use of the existing resources, both human and material.

Harmony between groups is now more than ever necessary for the safety of the whole human family because of the availability of weapons of mass destruction. The dumb progress of science demands that the Sarvodaya solution be implemented.

The basic tenets of Sarvodaya are found in one form or another in most religions. For all their differences the religions have it in common to work for a Sarvodaya society.

Man is subject to environmental forces many of which are not conducive to his welfare. He needs courage to rise above them. This courage can be derived from a consideration and application of Sarvodaya Philosophy.

We should seek to optimise the utilisation of human and material resources for the greatest welfare of all.

We are none of us still. Daily we are swept on by the stream of life. Unconsciously perhaps, we are undergoing a process of development, we are being moulded by our environment. Through Sarvodaya we are made conscious of this process and encouraged to play our part in it. We are 'Awoken' to the implications of our potential. But Sarvodaya does not only seek to awaken individuals, it aims to awaken the families, the villages, the towns and the nations that crowd this globe of ours.

To be awakened is to realise that one has a role in the harmonious development of all and to strive to fulfil that role.

This idea of awakening applies to all the components of society, human and material. A field cultivated efficiently and contributing its maximum to the good of all can be said to be awoken.

What Sarvodaya Stands For

Sarvodaya literally means the complete awakening of all in society. 'Sarva' in the compound word connotes totality or a complete whole - a 'gestalt' as psychologists would say; and 'Udaya' signifies uplift or all -round progress. *The complete awakening of every single individual in society in body, mind, intellect and spirit to his maximum potentiality is called Sarvodaya.*

'When applied to an individual, Sarvodaya means the

integrated growth of his physical, emotional, intellectual, moral and spiritual potentialities to a harmonious whole. An individual attains Sarvodaya when his body becomes healthy, vigorous and shining; his heart pure and rich in love, truth, goodness and beauty; his intellect steady; clear and penetrating and his spirit so all-pervading as to include the whole world in its fold. The attainment of Sarvodaya is thus the fulfillment of the human being, the realization of the purpose of his or her existence on this earth and is not different from the attainment of the Supreme Goal often referred to as Mukthi or Nirvana or Self-realization or the Kingdom of God.'

'In the case of society, Sarvodaya means the attainment by all its members of the total progress each is capable of. It aims at the greatest good of the whole of humanity without any distinctions of nationality, race, caste, creed, sex and so forth.' Exploitation in any form is completely repugnant to the Sarvodaya Social Order. Love, understanding, co-operation, mutual trust, and self-denial take the place of rivalry, fierce competition, distrust, self interest and so forth. Unification takes the place of division. If the Sarvodaya Society could be compared to the human body each member therein is like its limb contributing actively to the well-being of the whole body. Each limb attains its maximum well-being by striving its utmost without rivalry or selfishness for the maximum well-being of the body. Just as a body becomes ill when one limb does not function properly, so society will suffer when individuals either do not contribute their maximum or do not receive their full requirements. The individuals have all to co-operate wholeheartedly and discharge their obligations to themselves and others fully, if Sarvodaya is to be realized. It is clear therefore that a Sarvodaya society aims at a much higher target than a democratic, socialist or even a communist society.

The idea of the 'Welfare of All' as different from the concept of 'The Greatest Good of the Greatest Number' is a principle inherent in Buddhist thought. For over two thousand two hundred and fifty years it was the teaching of the Buddha that guided our spiritual, social, political, economic and cultural life. The fundamental thought that runs through the entire Buddhist teachings is *'May All Beings be Well and Happy.'* One only has to glance through the well-preserved and the recorded history of our

land or visit the archaeological remains in the ancient cities to realize for oneself the fact that our fore-fathers succeeded in making the building of a great non-violent social order, where equality, justice and prosperity prevailed and where all were happy, the goal of their common endeavour. This small island only a few miles away from the great sub-continent of India retained its separate cultural and political identity throughout the known history because of this spiritual force that was the lifeblood of Lanka. They called this country the Dharma Dweepa - the island of Righteousness.

As far as Sri Lanka is concerned, 'Sarvodaya' is a revival of this ancient thought of the 'Welfare of All.' One who believes in the 'Welfare of All' transcends all man-made barriers such as caste, race, creed, class, party-politics and nationality. *Sarvodaya looks at the 'total man' and 'total society.' Sarvodaya is not another 'ism' neither is it a reaction to any other 'ism.'* It aims at reconstruction of man and society by a progressive and integrated programme of evoking the best in individuals, village and national communities and humanity as a whole. It begins with a fundamental revolution in the minds and hearts of men who believe that human life is capable of attaining nobler and more joyful realms of human existence than those presented by the mere satisfaction of the pleasures of the senses. Those inspired by Sarvodaya dedicate themselves to a life of selfless service in all spheres of human activity raising the poor, who have never risen, as well as the rich, who have been long past fallen.

Sarvodaya is not another religion, even though the best in all religious teachings as found applicable to the above mentioned social goals are imbibed in the Sarvodaya thought. On the other hand it is not a materialistic dogma where all spiritual tenets are ruled out for the sake of achieving material goals. It is a harmonious integration of spiritual teachings and modern science where men and society are viewed from a nobler perspective and with confidence. Sarvodaya thought is continuously enriched by new knowledge and is re-orientated and does grow with changing times and with more human beings who embrace a life directed towards self-knowledge and enlightenment through service to fellow-beings.

Thus Sarvodaya aims at an integrated programme of the fullest

Personality Development of the Individual (Purna Paurushodaya), Village Re-awakening (Gramodaya), National Re-awakening (Deshodaya) and Universal Awakening (Vishvodaya).

Revolution from Below

The Sarvodaya appeal is primarily directed towards the transformation of the individual, the family, the village community, the nation and the world. However, the approach is not exclusively in the realm of human values nor is its growth linear in character. It is a very much practical and an integrated application of the Sarvodaya thought to the solution of numerous social, economic and political ills and injustices, which are inter-dependent and inter-related. Sarvodaya Movement attempts to bring about a revolutionary change in society towards a non-violent social order by bringing about a parallel and closely linked transformation in the three spheres of ideas and ideals of people, their methods and techniques of economic production, distribution and consumption, and their social and political institutions and organisations. The technique adopted is not by the capture of organised violence respectably named State Power (Rajya or Danda Shakthi) but by a process of awakening the inherent goodness and non-violent strength of the people (Jana Shakthi). This is why Sarvodaya is named as a revolution from below, democracy at the grassroots, socialism of the head, heart and actions.

In India the most significant technique adopted by Sarvodaya workers led by Acharya Vinoba Bhave is the Bhoodan (land gift mission) and Gramdan (voluntary communisation of village lands) Movements. Whatever the overall effect of this Movement was on the socio-economic system of India the fact that social change could be brought about by non-violent and voluntary techniques was established beyond doubt by the great results it has achieved. Sampathdana (Sharing of Wealth) Jeevandana (Dedication of one's life to service) and Shanthi Sena (Peace Army) were the other techniques that were adopted by them.

Individuals

Sarvodaya workers in Sri Lanka adopted Shramadana as the chief mode of taking the Sarvodaya message to the people. It has

an equal appeal to the rich and the poor, the well-educated and the less-educated, young and old, urban and rural people, the sustaining persuasion being the mental and psychological environment that a Shramadana Camp provides for every participant to realize his own stage of development in relation to his total personality, development potentialities and the exact place he occupies in this world of time and space, men and matter. Sarvodaya has faith in the potentiality of every human being to develop to the utmost his personality at any time if each phase of his physical, emotional, intellectual, mental and spiritual life could be harmonized as it emerges with a suitable motivating environment. In other words, Sarvodaya as applied to the individual is the emergence of the best in him at any time culminating in the accomplished personality (Purna Paurushodaya) who is then capable of progressing on his own towards still higher goals of perfection such as purely spiritual pursuits. A Shramadana Camp, as different from a religious activity or a work-camp designed purely for religio-moral or socio-economic purposes, is a place where the individual is given full scope to identify himself with society ('lose himself' to society and 'discover himself') thus becoming an effective instrument for a social revolution.

Family

In our culture the family unit has occupied a very important place in all matters of social and economic life. It was a cohesive and integrated social institution which not only moulded the individual in to his cultural milieu but also formed the foundation on which the broader village communities were built. A good member of a family was invariably a good member of the community. There was no dual set of values, one applicable to family living and another controlling the rest of one's social relationships. There was no exploitation either; and the family was a sort of broader society in microcosm providing the individual a training ground while growing up into full membership of community. life. There was a mutually supporting set of moral and ethical values which fitted the individual harmoniously into his family and the family to the village community. The individual did not look into the family as a source of exploitation; neither did the family take the wider society as such a field. This state of

affairs does not prevail anymore in economically advanced societies and the disintegration of the family seems to have already set in even in our own country. Sarvodaya Movement attempts to prevent this disintegration as far as possible. The atmosphere created in a Shramadana Camp helps to revitalise the family as a basic and crucial institution not only for cultural progress but also for material and spiritual development.

Village

Sri Lanka has always been a country of villages. The vast majority of our people, over 80%, still live in villages. During the colonial era these rural people suffered most due to the disruption of their social , economic and political institutions. The disintegration of villages resulted in their subjugation to the towns resulting in a state of helpless dependency on the latter in all matters ranging from obtaining their day to day needs to political and administrative patronage. After independence introduction of power and party politics has brought about a tendency to create more destructive divisions in the village than bringing about an understanding of the process of democratic government. A debased form of democracy, which may be more rightly named 'Partycracy,' has debarred any integrated development programme from being carried out successfully in village communities. Sarvodaya Movement through its Shramadana technique has been successful in breaking through these divisive forces and bringing the village people to one common endeavour of rural reconstruction. Gramodaya, Re-awakening of Village Communities in all departments of their community living including village self-government (Grama Swarajyaya), is the Sarvodaya objective with regard to village life. An all round awakening by improving their livelihood, health, civic consciousness, education, social integration and organisational efficiency is aimed at so that the village communities become the strong foundation for a progressively non-violent state.

The most fundamental and effective working unit in a Sarvodaya Social Order is the village community which will consist of between 100-150 families. This village instead of playing a subservient role as it does today in its relationships with the town or city should have strength to stand on its own legs to regulate and order its. own affairs to bring about the maximum

good for all its inhabitants with the least external assistance possible. Acharya Vinoba Bhave describes the plight of the modern village thus: 'Even in villages which are small with barely a hundred families there is no social cohesion or comradeship. Each one lives for himself and all of them are exploited ruthlessly by the trader, money-lender, advocate and doctor from the town. They also exploit one another when they can. Isolation corrodes the human feeling in man. Like the erosion of the soil there is a deterioration in the quality of human beings. The institution of the money economy has made things worse. There is litigation between father and son. Marriages in the family add substantially to the indebtedness of the householder. All this had reduced man to the position of beast. He has lost all sense of human dignity.'

He continues, 'In a Gramdan Village all this will change. Man will live in happy union with the society around him. The whole village will be one family. Private ownership in land will end and people will learn to live together in happy co-operation.'

The Sarvodaya Movement has as its target the establishment of a whole network of such self-supporting village communities. The family relationships which are confined at present to the blood group will be extended to cover the whole village where distinctions based on race, creed, caste, language and so forth will completely be eliminated. Agriculture will be so planned that all the people will have enough to consume. Industry will be conducted on a cottage basis till all the people in the village are gainfully employed. The needs of the village will be determined by the people of the village themselves, through a Village Council, representative of the whole village.

The realization of this ideal village set-up demands strenuous and concentrated effort on the part of all those who have accepted the Sarvodaya philosophy and have pledged to work ceaselessly till such a society is accomplished. The Sarvodaya Shramadana workers in the village, therefore, have a tremendous responsibility on their shoulders. The organization through which they have to function is the Village Sarvodaya Shramadana Samitiya.

Nation and World

Sarvodaya philosophy believes in an integrated national community. Though it is solidly based on our own cultural background it is sophisticated enough as to endeavour to bring together people of diverse linguistic and religious groups into one human national community. Deshodaya, the awakening of the entire national community, is the Sarvodaya objective for all our citizens. Sarvodaya view of Nationalism is not contradictory to internationalism and it believes in a Federation of Independent National States of the World where non-violence, peace, mutual help and co-operation are the salient features. Vishvodaya, awakening of the world community in its entirety, is its lofty ideal with regard to the human family.

Non-Violence

Scientific and technological advancement in our world demands an immediate end to all forms of violence by all-between individuals, groups and nations, if the human species and their cultures are to survive on this earth. Violence whether it takes the form of economic exploitation, loss of human freedom, or loss of human lives presents different facets of the same evil. Economic exploitation, loss of human freedom, and loss of human lives etc., are different forms of violence. What is required is a revolutionary and total change starting from below. In this world of organised violence, full of legal and political sanctions backed by police forces, armies and nuclear armaments, individuals exploit other individuals, the haves exploit the have-nots and nations exploit other nations. They only hope for unarmed non-violent people bringing about a revolutionary change in man's thinking, in his actions and in his grassroots organisations. Their efforts can make non-violence meaningful and bring about the necessary change in the social structure beginning with their own families, villages, nations and the world. Sarvodaya demands greater courage and self-sacrifice from its adherents than followers of ideals based on violence, untruth and self-aggrandizement.

INTEGRATING NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WITH THE RURAL SECTOR

'A country cannot develop unless we have faith in the intelligence of our people. Look at the wisdom and intelligence displayed by the. Sri Lankan people in the political revolution that took place in this country and the number of times they changed governments by the use of the secret ballot. Such people are intelligent. What we lack is proper, appropriate technological know-how. If the opportunity is provided they will know how to keep their records, to keep their accounts and to design the type of equipment or machinery they need'

By no means am I an expert on this subject. But I can express very clearly the feelings of the rural people on this subject. What I say may not be quite intelligible to you, if you try to understand what I am going to say from the same terminology we heard in the morning. In the morning we were discussing mostly a large scale, central type of approach to development. I was listening the whole time from the standpoint of an ordinary villager which I am. They would not have understood anything of this morning's proceedings. So there wouldn't have been any psychological integration between the development philosophy, the objectives and the principles that we all have been talking about, with those ideologies or philosophies and the principles of the rural people. And you cannot ignore 72% of the rural people. Either they have to understand the language of the people who plan for the whole country or they have to stand up in revolt. Therefore it is very necessary and very important that at the very outset we have to evolve a development theory and philosophy which is intelligible to all the people in our country; the rural as well as the urban; the educated as well as the less educated; the people who manage society as well as who are subjected to all sorts of management.

I think 30 years after independence it's high time that we think of development as a common effort on the part of all people. I think somebody mentioned this morning that we have to develop

our own development definition. If we look at development in the same way that people in industrialized countries looked at development, I think we do not have the capacity to develop in that manner. Neither is there a need for it. Because happiness is not synonymous with having increased greed and methods and techniques to satisfy that greed. The world doesn't have enough resources to satisfy such greed. I think that the world will also not be able to stand it. Therefore we have to find out whether we did have any development philosophy in our country-certainly we had. We did not talk about welfare. Instead we talked about awakening - Awakening of the individual to his highest potential; Awakening of human groups to their total potential; the Awakening of the nation to its highest potential.

This awakening is two-fold. You have to awaken yourself as human beings on one hand and on the other hand you have to awaken yourself in relation to the needs you have and not based on greed. A developing country or a poor country like Sri Lanka would have gone 99% on the road to development, if development goals were properly defined and understood by the people.

For the rural people development has six components as far as I have observed. There is a very strong political element in their thinking. When I say political element, this does not mean belonging to one party or another. They mean politics in the sense that they have an opportunity to participate in decision-making. I am not trying to talk theory but I am trying to relate my experiences. Voluntarily we have been able to get active participation of over a million people to this day in Sarvodaya programmes going on in over 3,000 villages in this country. There was no coercion used on them. There were no incentives as such offered to them. But they simply like to participate when they know that such participation is meaningful and beneficial to bring about greater happiness to them. Therefore development has a political element in the sense of giving the people an opportunity to participate to the maximum in decision-making processes, not only at election time. Unfortunately this word participation, people's participation has become a very mush taxed word in these conferences. But when you go into real actual grass-roots you find that participation that is provided for the people is only

the opportunity given to listen to a politician or an administrator or an expert from outside. This is not participation. Therefore the political factor which is one of the 6 components of development as I see visualized by the village people has something to do with direct participation in decision-making. It also has something to do with freedom. I am happy to say today, there is greater participation in our rural areas than they had a few years ago.

Secondly, people look at development as a process where certain social needs could be fulfilled. I could very clearly see again three needs that are often in the social field. They would like to know what we are talking about, in other words they would like to raise the level of their consciousness or education. I do not mean to say that this is the education of the type that we referred to in the morning, that is formal academic education. I do not think that this country needs an educational system like the one that the British used in the 18th century-the British who knew the art of using most modern weapons and most refined forms of diplomacy to conquer our country. The essence of our education was a process of awakenment of the individual and the group to their highest potential, as I mentioned before. So education in the sense that people understand more and more as to the relationships that exist between them and their natural and social environment, them and their government, between them and their village resources, between them and the type of methods and techniques they can use to produce what they need for a higher standard of living, - this type of education is a total education where every man, woman and child in the village could be involved in a meaningful experience. So when they talk of development, this is one factor that they are very keen about, namely, social development. In health development, they would like very much to take over the responsibility for their own health and not leave it in the hands of the Minister of Health. Therefore in that sector and other related sectors also there is a lot that people want to achieve if given the responsibility to participate. No development can take place in a social or psychological environment where man is looking at the next man, not as his brother but as his enemy. In other words, it is very necessary that there is psychological and a social force operating, which can transcend various barriers created by politics, caste, race, language and such other divisive factors. So development also means development of people in these three

sectors of Education, Health and what you may call Social Cohesion to raise their level of consciousness, to improve their knowledge to build unity.

Thirdly comes the economic sector. When you talk of economic development generally you do not pay any consideration to the related factors. We only talk of one factor that is increased productivity (Uttana Sampada) or we may talk about social justice in the sense of distributing what is produced equitably among the people. There were some other factors which were taken into consideration in this country when we talked of economics. There was a factor which we called 'Arakkasampada', which meant, in the process of economic production, that they saw to it that what was produced was not destroyed. Just to allow the price mechanism to prevail, you know what an amount of food is dumped into the sea in developed countries while our people are starving here. In our cultures, closely linked with economic development there were certain moral factors which we did not lose sight of. Sometimes pollution can be imported to a country in the name of industrialization. So we have to be careful. Therefore when the village or rural people talk of economic development they always think of four factors that have direct relevance to them. They are:-

1. Production *(Uttana Sampada)*
2. Protection *(Arakka Sampada)*
3. Social environment in which production takes place *(Kalyana Mittata)*
4. Consumption pattern *(Sama Jeevakata)*

Therefore if we follow our own methods of economic development based on the above four factors, 72% of the people of this country will easily understand what it means to develop economically.

These three sectors political, social and economic have to be combined with three other sectors. Development is meaningless if that development does not pay heed to our moral principles. Moral principles which bring about certain social relationships in our village communities should be preserved if they are useful. There are cultural values which we cherish. These cultural values

are very important to make us happy. There are spiritual values which have a meaning to our people. In this country acquisition of more and more wealth and creation of endless needs was not the aim in life. People looked for something higher once they satisfied their basic human needs or may be their secondary human needs. They have spiritual goals to follow which I think most industrialized countries have lost today. Therefore if we are to integrate any national development effort with the rural people these 6 factors-moral, cultural, spiritual, political, social and economic, should be integrated into one whole process. Is this possible? This is possible.

In the morning we heard how Madam Judith Hart mentioned about inter-dependence. Inter-dependence can have different meanings to different people. Sometimes it is very useful for developed, industrialized, rich countries to talk of inter-dependence and brotherhood with us. But this talk must be based on realities. Unequals cannot talk of brotherhood. Co-operation is not possible without co-sharing. Still in my country as well as in other poor countries of the world we have tens of thousands of people who go to bed without one square meal a day. They, the starved people, cannot sit down and talk together with over-fed people as equals. Therefore when you talk of co-operation, North-South dialogues, the fundamental sufferings that most of the people in rural areas and urban slums are going through should not be lost sight of. First solve it and then talk of other things. Because they cannot wait. They cannot wait till the year two thousand to get their basic health care or their daily square meal. It could be given to them within no time, if a change of heart takes place in the rich countries of the world.

In our countries I believe the right form of development is to awaken the potential of our people from the grass-roots up, irrespective of the World Bank and all the other help we get. Let us welcome help but let us not depend on them.

People have their needs. Employment will have to be re-defined in our country as Right Livelihood. That was how we defined employment those days. Employment is right livelihood. People have various needs. Now in our village development work we have identified Ten Basic Human Needs and about 167 sub-human needs. The first need, a clean and beautiful environment we

have divided up into 42 activities under environment in which people can participate. An adequate and clean supply of water is the second. Again this has been sub-divided into so many sub needs. Clothing, Food, Basic Health Care, Housing, Communication, Energy, Education, Spiritual and Cultural Needs. They all are sub-divided into sub-needs which people can understand. They feel now there are a lot of things that are within their capacity to do. Then of course there is a process, there is a method, to do it. If you dig a well there is a science of doing it. You need a certain skill which is required for this work to give the training necessary. Put all the resources from the government and international agencies into it so that it does not become a welfare exercise of doling out assistance. On the other hand it becomes a supportive force to allow the people to awaken themselves. And the opportunity for this awakening is nor given. You talk about the public sector and the private sector.It is the same sector. One is managed by government bureaucrats and the other by the government corporation technocrafts. It is not the people's sector. Now there have been lots of liberalizations that have been done, to allow people who can do any economic activity. It is fine that there is a clear policy. I liked Dr. Tilakaratne's speech this morning which was a very clear expression of the government policy. What I say is that the same opportunity should be given to the weak sector, the people as a whole, for self-development. This is not yet given. True that there is a Ministry of Rural Development. It is yet another Ministry. There is no opportunity given to the rural people to organise themselves so that the planners can say ' Here are the facilities available; prove your worth.' People will prove it, I know because I am struggling with the people. This trust in the people is not there because something is wrong with our thinking. We are looking outwards for standards. I do not say we should look inwards. But I say we should look from the bottom up, then there is a way to liberation and only that way we can bring about an integration between the national and the rural level.

When we work with rural folk I would like to say that you will be amazed to see the organisational capacity these people have. Expatriates are welcome. In my Movement about 40 foreign friends are working. They are not called experts but they are participatory friends, participatory resource personnel, because we

believe that if the rural people are given the opportunity and the youths are given the opportunity, they can acquire all the skills necessary. This opportunity should be given. Anybody trying to do a study of the government servants of today, for example at the Assistant Government Agent level, will be amazed that today they are a different lot. The less English they speak the more efficient they are. I know of excellent administrators of today who are totally different from the brown sahibs we had in the past. A country cannot develop unless we have faith in the intelligence of our people. Look at the wisdom and intelligence displayed by the Sri Lankan people in the political revolutions that took place in this country; the number of times they changed governments by the use of the secret ballot. Such people are intelligent. What we lack is proper, appropriate technological know-how. If the opportunity is provided they will know how to keep their records, how to keep their accounts, to design the type of equipment or machinery they need. This opportunity is not yet given.

In conclusion my contribution to this seminar is that when we think of strategies for development integrating the rural sector, with the nation as a whole, they should incorporate in such strategies an understandable language to the common people. Otherwise they will be alienated. The age-old values still have a relevance to our people. Therefore there must be a value system and not just growth of G.N.P.'s and all that. There must be a value system in the whole process. His Excellency our President and the Hon. Prime Minister in all their speeches are always talking about this value system. We must integrate this value system into the economic field too. In the same way that you give opportunities to private sector for business enterprises, give the village communities also opportunities for self-development.

In development activities there is too much of dependence still placed on bureaucracies. The people and their non-governmental organisations are still not sufficiently involved. If the NGO's are given the same facilities as those enjoyed by the private or the bureaucratic sector, I can assure you that we can do ten times the volume of work that would be otherwise done. A couple of years ago I addressed a UNICEF Meeting held in Manila. I was at the World Food Conference. I have participated in many UN sponsored meetings. In all these places there is loud talk about

people's participation. But when it comes to actual practice I am sorry to say that the United Nations Agencies are also far away from the people. At best they too are international bureaucracies. They too are not yet integrated with the rural people or the urban poor. I know they have to operate through governmental bureaucracies. But if both United Nations and the Governmental bureaucracies cannot find workable programmes with people's organisations they should stop talking about the importance of people's participation.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement from which I come has been working in rural areas for the last 22 years. It is a people's movement in the true sense of the word. We have been very concerned to be co-operative with the bureaucracies. Yet they simply do not have a process that enables them to work with us. It is still the trickling down theory that exists in practice.

Therefore we have to think anew on this subject of integrating the rural sector with national development. If it is necessary to de-link we have to de-link. If it is necessary to re-link, we have to re-link. In other words there is a whole new process that has to be started to bring down the decision-making powers that are presently over the heads of the people and not within reach of the people. Then only power will spread out and a whole awakening process will begin. It is only through a process like that, that the entire community can participate in development, which then becomes synonymous with awakening. And who is more concerned with development than the people who are hungry, who are deprived and who have nothing to fall back on? Give them a chance and that is the only way to integrate national development with the rural sector.

ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS IN PROMOTING RURAL DEVELOPMENT

'...Sarvodaya means the awakening of all. Shramadana is the sharing of one's time. energy and thought with others. The participants in this Movement become benefactors as well as beneficiaries at one and the same time. They become benefactors in the sense that they help man in the awakening of rural communities based on principles of self-reliance, community action and grassroots organization'

I feel I will be 'twice blessed' for having the opportunity to be present at this Regional Conference of Asian Teachers' Organizations sponsored by the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession. I thank the Confederation and its local partner the Japan Teachers' Union for inviting me to this conference.

Having been a teacher by profession all my life, I feel that this conference will re-affirm my faith in the ability of teachers to play a decisive role in blazing a path for humanity away from global catastrophe and towards human survival and progress. This is the first blessing. I have faith in the capacity of the Teachers in Japan to play the role of inspirers and pioneers to blaze this new trail for human awakening. This is the second blessing I am looking forward to. I trust that I will not be disappointed.

The subject about which I have been asked to talk to you is the 'Role of Trade Unions in Promoting Rural Development'. Please do not mistake me as a Trade Unionist. I have very little experience on this subject. Yet as far as promoting human rights and social justice for the most deprived communities in my country, I have not lagged behind in my duty. For 17 years I have served as full-time teacher and part-time voluntary worker in rural development. For 7 years I have worked as a full-time rural development worker. What I am going to share

with you is some of the ideas we have developed while working in this field of rural development which we organized under what came to be known as the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.

A small band of students and teachers initiated this Movement in some of the remotest and most deprived villages in Sri Lanka, in the mid 1950's. Soon this Movement developed into a mass Movement involving not only teachers and students but also people from other walks of life. Today this Movement has penetrated over 3,000 villages in Sri Lanka giving rural people a new ideal to strive for. Teachers, students and youth still form the bulk of the leadership of this Movement.

The word 'Sarvodaya' means the awakening of all. Shramadana is sharing of one's time, thought and energy. The participants in this Movement become benefactors as well as beneficiaries at one and the same time. They become benefactors in the sense that they help mass awakening of rural communities based on principles of self-reliance, community action and grassroots organization. They become beneficiaries in the sense that the participants awaken their own personalities and learn both community leadership and vocational skills which help them to enrich their own lives while living in the community.

In Asian culture the word teacher-Guru or Acharya -is a highly respected term having a deep meaning . A teacher in our culture was not just a paid servant of the government or of a private organization. He or she was a symbol of wisdom, knowledge, respect, dignity and the personification of the direction in which the individual and community life should progress.

With the advent of commercialism and its twin brother colonialism, the teaching profession like so many other professions, also degenerated into a business operation supplying literate, skilled brains and trained hands for a commercial culture to dominate our countries and our world.

The nobility of the profession was lost. A teacher's worth came to be measured in terms of money like any other hired

labour. School and community, teachers and pupils, parents and teachers, all became alienated from one another. Commercialism and power politics continued to take the upper hand, bringing in their wake the problems humanity is facing today such as militarism, racism, pollution, mass poverty, ecological imbalances and alienation of man from man and man from his environment. The world has degenerated very much in this direction. Can the teachers re-discover some of their old values and give sane leadership to a world which is almost literally crumbling by its own glaring contradictions?

If I may elaborate on this a little further, the responsibility of teachers' trade unions is no longer a matter of only increased wages, more humane working conditions, more leisure and more participation. The moral responsibility has grown beyond these realms and has taken a global dimension demanding a new vision and sacrifices, beyond the presently accepted demands of the profession.

Today education is a fundamental human right. In most countries the primary and even the secondary education is free and compulsory. In my own country , the Republic of Sri Lanka, even all higher education is free. Elementary educational facilities are available for all children within walking distance from their homes. The teachers, taken as a whole, have an influence over each and every family through their students. Beyond our limited physical and academic environs, do we utilize this potential to influence our national and rural communitites to strive to build together a more psychologically balanced, a more physically secure and a more socially satisfying society?

The western model of development cannot bring about this balance, security and satisfaction. This can be seen beyond any doubt when we look at what lies behind the glamorous physical achievements of the industrial civilization. What we see is loneliness, deprivation, purposelessness and confusion.

We in Asia and other developing regions have to build up our own model of development' This model should avoid the mistakes of the old model developed by the industrialized West. On the other hand it should have spiritual, moral and cultural ingredients harmoniously combined with participatory people's

politics, self-sustainable economies and social cohesiveness. In other words development must be taken beyond the pure materialistic realms to include total man and total society.

According to the Sarvodaya Shramadana experience the initiation and promotion of such a development process from the rural level is possible by organisations such as Teachers' Trade Unions even though they may not have coercive instruments of power politics at their disposal. What is needed is a clear philosophy, practicable principles, realizeable targets and a concrete programme of action.

The Sarvdoaya Shramadana Movement accepted the fundamental tenets of Buddhist teachings in the building up of its philosophy. The prime thought is 'The Awakening of All' - Sarvodaya. This thought transcends all barriers of caste, creed, religion, language, national boundaries and political ideologies. The 'Awakening of All' concept carries with it such unalienable principles as truth, non-violence and self-denial. Non-deception of other human beings, non-injury to other human beings and non-selfishness in dealing with other human beings are accepted as cardinal values. These three principles are accepted while trying to achieve the following ojbectives of the Movement:

(i) Personality awakening of the individual

(ii) Family, group, village and urban awakening

(iii) Awakening of national communities, and

(iv) Awakening of the world community

This means every Sarvodaya action can have its implications on one or more or all of the above defined Sarvodaya objectives. The implementation of programmes to achieve these objectives also can take a variety of forms. It can be a personal act of compassion. It can be a basic human needs satisfaction programme carried out by the community as a whole. It can be an integrated village development activity. It can take the form of struggling for social and economic justice by a group. It can take the form of bringing about political pressure for land reforms by the organized landless. It can also be a programme of training in useful skills such as for self-development. In all these areas, teachers do participate in an

organized and effective way.

At the village level the Sarvodaya Movement initiates its development programmes by organizing a series of Shramadana Camps or gift-of-labour camps, to satisfy one or more basic felt needs of the community. It is so organised that an opportunity is provided for all members of the community, men, women and children to participate in a spirit of brotherhood with teachers, students and others from outside the village doing the tasks at hand. The main purpose of such a series of camps is to build a psychological oneness among all concerned. Thinking of problems together, trying to find solutions together and working together to apply the solutions and solve the problems, bring about a mental cohesion which the Movement considers to be the foundation on which further programmes to build man and society have to be developed.

The second phase is the training of emerging leaders in rural and urban communities who on their own can provide the organisational and skilled leadership to their communities for the continuous programmes of constructive work in rural areas. A series of service centres known as Gramodaya or village awakening centres have been progressively set up to give infra-structural support to village awakening programmes.

The third phase is the organisation of groups in villages according to their age, needs and interests. For example a Pre-School Children's Group for children below the age of 5 years is organised. A school-going Children's Group between the ages of 5 and 15 years is next organised. A Youth Group for youths between 16 to 28 is formed. A Mothers' Group and a Farmers' Group are also formed. Finally to accommodate all the others, a General Elders' Group is organised. All these groups carry out what is generally known as, the ten basic human needs satisfaction programme. This in fact is a village level plan designed and implemented by the village people themselves. The Ten Basic Human Needs referred to here are:-

1. A clean and a beautiful environment
2. An adequate supply of safe water
3. Minimum requirements of clothing
4. A balanced diet

5. Simple Housing
6. Basic health care
7. Communication facilities
8. Energy requirements
9. Total education related to life and living
10. Cultural and spiritual needs

An interesting feature of this programme is that the village communities, whatever their resources, property ownership level, technological know-how, and financial means, have a programme of work they can carry out, on their own.

Three representatives from each of the groups, except that of Pre-school children, together form themselves into a Village Re-awakening Council in each village. This Council can expand to include ten or more others who can represent the village temple, village level governmental services and other deserving elders. This Gramodaya or Village Re-awakening Council provides an excellent people's development structure at the village level which can on the one hand organise and utilize people's resources for development and on the other hand act as the people's body for co-ordinating with the available governmental service institutions.

In rural awakening activities, higher organisational skills and advanced leadership skills also become necessary. Divisional District and National level co-ordination with governmental and non-governmental institutions supporting rural development activities also have to be linked to this programme. For this purpose Sarvodaya has established so far 20 Development Educational Institutions in different districts of Sri Lanka. These institutes train village youths, teachers, monks, senior students, government officials and other village level and district level leaders, needed for rather big undertakings such as construction of housing schemes, water service schemes, irrigation programmes, agricultural activities and development of appropriate technologies.

The strict impartiality and non-involvement of the Movement in party political activities and the signal contribution made by the Movement as a non-governmental group in development has earned it recognition by the

government and the general public. This resulted in the leaders of the government upholding the principles of the Movement publicly and appealing to all concerned to support the Movement without political considerations. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement at present is an excellent example of a non-governmental indigenous people's Movement co-operating with the government without losing its identity or becoming a tool in the hands of the government. This has become possible as a result of the trust that the Movement was able to win with the leaders of the government, who also happen to be upholding democratic, socialist values and believers in peoples' participatory role in development.

Almost from the inception of the Movement there has been international interest shown in its work. There have been many organistions and individuals who have come from different countries and worked with the Movement for considerable periods of time. This resulted in a two-way influence and a mutual learning process. Formal links were also established with several international bodies whose co-operation during the last 10 years has helped the Movement immensely. The Sarvodaya philosophy and principles were adopted for experimentation in such far off countries such as Netherlands, Canada, Belgium, Norway, West Germany and Japan.

Some of the programmes developed by these countries in cooperation with the Sri Lanka Movement are:-

(i) Village to village link -up programmes, where a village group in another country is linked for educational , cultural and economic co-operation and exchange programmes.

(ii) Students exchange programmes between Sri Lanka and the linked-up group in the other country.

(iii) A Dialogue Programme where a village group in Sri Lanka becomes a dialogue partner with a school or such other group in the other country.

(iv) Holding exhibitions in arts and crafts, selling local products and through such action carrying out educational programmes which are of mutual benefit.

(v) Organising seminars, workshops and conferences on subjects related to world development.

So far I have described how a grassroots Movement was able to progressively evolve itself into a national and international development effort during a period of a little over two decades. This experience provides some lessons which may be useful to other individuals and groups who want to similarly participate in development activities at a people's level. I shall enumerate some of the possibilities that exist in this type of endeavour.

(i) In all cultures there are certain age old values, which if identified and used as motivational factors to bring together people for self-development, can be very effective.

(ii) People can be motivated to come together in such a way that they become their own planners, implementers and evaluaters in a self-generating process of development from the grassroots up.

(iii) People of different walks of life such as students, teachers, doctors, peasants, workers, administrators and even politicians, can be organised to become participants in such programmes, be they of rural development or of urban development nature.

(iv) Such a people's programme, if devoid of power and party politics, and if the leaderships have proven this by their conduct, can work in harmony with governments which uphold the democratic rights of the people, towards development of the country.

(v) Mutually beneficial joint programmes between similar groups in different countries can be developed to promote educational, cultural and economic progress, at an international level.

In the Asian Region, the potential for Trade Unions to enter the field of rural development is vast. Integrated programmes could be organised by Trade Unions to combat illiteracy, non-attendance in schools, ill-health, poverty, poor housing, malnutrition and against other barriers that stand in the way of

a minimal level of human existence. The initiative and leadership for such programmes should always be developed, by the people themselves, so that patronage and dependency are avoided right from the very inception. In the Sarvodaya Movement one of the fundamental steps taken in such programmes is the training of a youth leadership in the village, who take upon themselves the responsibility of conducting family and village surveys, collection and analysis of data, selection of priorities in the village development programme, organisation of social groups, learning and usage of appropriate technological methods and techniques in development processes and initiating self-employment programmes.

At all stages of these processes the Trade Unions can play the role of initiator, educator and supporter of village groups. Their organisational strength, the experience, the influence and the dedicated leaders can be easily utilized for this programme.

Trade Unions in developed countries like Japan should give a lead in this type of process where new ground is explored for the emancipation of the poor and the deprived in the Asian Region. This may well be a foundation of a new Movement of Teachers' Organisations to give a helping hand for the development of rural and urban communities in the poor regions of the world. The benefits of such an effort will not only be for the poor countries but also for rich countries who are increasingly facing problems of psychological deprivation, social unrest, ecological imbalances and threats of a Third World War.

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES

'Development for the people of this country did not mean only a high standard of material well-being which we certainly achieved. It also meant a high degree of spiritual and cultural development, moral and organisational discipline, social attainments and a high degree of participation in political organization...'

I feel it a great honour to be with you this afternoon. I am most grateful to the Honourable the Prime Minister for giving me this opportunity to see you prepare yourself to undertake the great task that lies ahead. I am fortunate to witness here the enthusiastic preparations you are making both psychologically and intellectually to serve our people.

Our civilization originated in small communities several thousand years ago. From the time of the great King Pandukabaya our people excelled in the art and science of local self-government, within the realm of a unified nation. With the advent of Buddhism, we evolved ourselves as a community of people upholding the dignity and freedom of every single individual irrespective of his or her social class, religious beliefs and the language spoken. King Dutugamunu was the first hero of any nation who built a monument in memory of an adversary he defeated in the battle-field. This was the way we developed as a cultured people.

Development for the people of this country did not mean only a high standard of material well-being which we certainly achieved. It also meant a high degree of spiritual and cultural development, moral and organisational discipline, social attainments and a high degree of people's participation in political organisation.

People at the grassroots always participated with self-reliance and community spirit in laying a strong village and urban infrastructure which were the pre-requisites for a strong and independent National State. The cities and urban areas reflected the

stability, the culture and the glory of village life. This light was spread far and wide into other civilized nations by great scholars of the calibre of Buddhaghosha, Fa Hien and Huang Tsang, who graced our land.

We had our ups and downs in our village life but we always retained its cohesive and co-operative nature till very recent times. As recently as 1907, the strength of the village organisation inspired a great son of Sri Lanka, Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy in his address to the Ceylon Social Reform League to tell the British not to destroy the local government system that the Sinhala people had evolved over centuries of harmonious community living.

After ten years of non-participation in civic affairs of their communities, our people, when they were given the opportunity a few days ago, elected you to the high offices that you hold today. If the participation of the people in the decision-making process begins and ends with the casting of their ballots, then, that is a serious flaw in our democracy. This is because, the most precious resource in the country, that is, the intelligence, creativity and labour of the people are kept out of the decision- making and implementation processes until the next election. This is a serious shortcoming that we have to correct if we are to develop ourselves as a democratic socialist society. People's participation to the maximum at all levels and in all sectors of welfare and development activity is a must to achieve that lofty ideal. His Excellency our President has pledged before us -a Dharmishta- a Righteous Society.

The challenges the people face today are much different from those that they faced in the past. The moral, spiritual and cultural crises our societies face today have given a new dimension to the social, political and economic challenges we face. In the same way, as our President and the Prime Minister have combined themselves in philosophical thought and pragmatic action the leaders of the local government institutions and their functionaries should integrate themselves in thought and action with the people for whom they have pledged to serve. We must emulate the standards of integrity, humility, discipline and hard work these two leaders have set before us.

In the present era, we cannot think of development or progress

without the total involvement of the people as a whole. Every man, woman and child should be meaningfully involved on the nation-building processes. Parents and elders in every home and in every family, teachers in every school, public servants in every office and field station, religious leaders in every temple, kovil, mosque and church, political and social leaders should play an equally positive role to build for this nation, human beings of quality, human beings whose hearts are large, whose minds are far seeing and whose limbs are trained to serve. In other words our first common objective should be Purna Paurushodaya or creating conditions for the awakening of total personalities.

Secondly, every village and urban community in this country should strive to follow the life-style of awakening communities. We call this 'Gramodaya' and 'Nagarodaya' respectively. We are very happy that the Honourable the Prime Minister has today become the inspirer and guide for this Gramodaya and Nagarodaya Programmes.

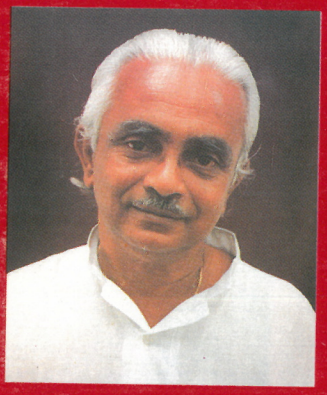
Thirdly, we should have the Deshodaya-or the National Awakening and Vishvodaya or the World Awakening aspects of development also within our perspective.

The direct responsibility of all of you is Nagarodaya or the awakening of our urban communities. The horizons of the philosophy of urban development have far out-stretched the mere provision of infrastructural services and social amenities. It is true that you have to provide for better roads, transport facilities, garages and parking places, electricity and lighting, water services and drainage,marketing and recreational amenities, health care and slum clearance, town planning etc. But the provision of these services must not be a one way process. It should also be a process where the beneficiaries themselves get involved in the planning and implementation processes. In other words, every city population needs a psycho-social infrastructure as the base from which Awakening should begin. A social infrastructure where the children the mothers, the youths, workers in all productive activities, cultural, religious and other interest groups have got themselves organised will be a great asset in the tasks that lie ahead. They can be of tremendous and critical help to build up a healthy psychological and physical environment, clean and beautiful surroundings, a young population physically nourished and morally nurtured, a disciplined

and productive youth community and a crime-free and law-abiding citizenry. The elected representatives and other local government functionaries and the aforesaid groups, working hand in hand can certainly infuse a new life to our city administration.

For the last 22 years the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement has gathered lots of experience in organising the rural and urban communities especially those who are most deprived of their basic human needs. In over 3,000 places in the country, this movement is active today. We are absolutely free from party and power political affiliations but we have always extended our hand of help to any government in its development programmes. Several other countries in the world have been inspired by the Sarvodaya Philosophy and programmes and have started similar programmes to serve their own communities. In Sri Lanka today, the Movement is strongly backing the efforts of the Honourable the Prime Minister in his attempts to give a New Deal for the rural poor through the Gramodaya Programme. I wish to declare here in your presence that the Movement will throw its lot with you and the Honourable the Prime Minister, in a Nagarodaya or urban awakening programme of which you are the chosen leaders. We shall help you to train cadres of Children's Service Workers so that in every city all our children below 15 years of age will get proper nutrition, health care, pre-school and elementary education, moral and cultural training. We shall help you to train cadres of devoted and disciplined youth in every part of the cities, so that they will assist the councils with their time, thought and energy to plan out multifarious welfare, development and self-improvement activities. We shall help you in the general mobilization of the community in implementing various city development plans.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in its own humble way shall diligently and sincerely share your burdens in formulating and implementing your plans whenever called upon to do so. We believe in a Sarvodaya Society where every human being irrespective of his or her caste, race, religion or political belief can live in an environment where his personality could be awakened to the fullest. After all what is awakening? Awakening is the progressive reduction of our greed, hatred and ignorance which are the root causes of all suffering within ourselves as individuals as well as communities.



Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne is the Founder/Leader of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka. Four decades ago, he worked in a rural village and together with the people, developed a philosophy and a Movement which is known as Sarvodaya. In it, the awakening of everyone is symbolised. Today it has spread into many parts of Sri Lanka and to some parts of the world too.

Ariyaratne was inspired by Vinobha Bhave and Mahatma Gandhi. Buddhistic experiences in Sri Lanka were added to this inspiration. Today the Movement works for everyone, regardless of race, creed, caste or colour. It is a unique philosophy based on potential greatness of human beings.

In these seven volumes what Ariyaratne wrote during the last four decades are collected. The beginning of Sarvodaya and its gradual development are reflected here. As Ariyaratne travelled around the world the influences he encountered and how he looked at such influences are seen in these volumes. The essays are refreshingly original and they contain what man should do in order to establish peace within himself and with the world. Ariyaratne's essays are a tribute to his spiritual explorations into himself and into the world.

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